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HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM

THE FALL OF WOLSEY
TO THE DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA

VOLUME IX.

ELIZABETH.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM

THE FALL OF WOLSEY

TO

THE DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA.

BY

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VOLUME IX.

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CHAPTER LII.

ENGLISH PARTIES.

TWICE already, during the progress of the Reformation, the advance of the new opinions had been checked by reaction. The Act of Supremacy and the dissolution of the monasteries had been followed by the fall of Cromwell, the Six Articles, and the burning of Barnes and Lambert. The anarchy, social and spiritual, which had broken loose under Edward VI., was brought to an end by the hard and heavy hand of Mary and Pole. From the moment that Elizabeth declared against the Pope it was inevitable that, sooner or later, the Catholics would make a third effort to recover their ascendancy. In number they still exceeded the Reformers, although in energy and enthusiasm the Reformers had a corresponding advantage. The strength of the two parties, to outward appearance, was nearly equal, and neither one nor the other had become as yet accustomed to the practical working of the formulas of the Establishment, where each might hold their own opinions under the show of uniformity. The

1569 January.

statesman of the nineteenth century, with the conditions before him which presented themselves to the council of Elizabeth, would have left religion to the individual conscience—would have insisted only on general submission to the laws, and within that limit would have permitted Catholic and Protestant the free use of their own chapels and services. But this solution of the problem has been made possible only by a gradual change of sentiment. Before a government can act on principles of toleration, the people to be governed must have become themselves at least outwardly tolerant. The attempt was made in France without this necessary preparation, and the result was universal disorder, interminable outbursts of civil war, and, when circumstances were specially unfavourable, those monstrous massacres, which have made the names of Catherine de Medici and her sons so infamous in history. The English Act of Uniformity, though intolerant in appearance and language, was adapted to protect the principles which it seemed to deny. Congregations of Ultramontanes and Genevans, if allowed each the free right of meeting, with their priests and ministers fulminating from rival pulpits, would have become organized bands of uncontrollable fanatics; the war of words would have become a war of blows, and every town in England would have been a scene of perpetual bloodshed.

A middle course was therefore chosen—a course which at the time pleased no one but the Queen and the half dozen or dozen intelligent persons who surrounded her; but it was the same which her father had marked

out before her, and its eventual success may be allowed to prove that it was wise.

It was neither possible however nor desirable to hold the balance entirely even. The new ideas were growing, the old were waning. There was no anxiety to check the first or save the second. Each was to be allowed and enabled to follow its natural tendency in peace; and thus the formulas, as has been well said, though patient of a Catholic interpretation, were not ambitious of it; the Puritans could more easily use the English liturgy than the Catholics could dispense with the mass. The Puritans complained, but for the most part submitted. The Catholics, who conformed widely at first, tempted by the easy administration of the laws, fell away—especially in the northern counties—reconciled themselves to Rome, and watched and prayed either for a new sovereign, or for the interference of the Great Powers of Europe.

At the time at which the history has now arrived, a crisis was visibly approaching. The wisest of the Spanish statesmen had foreseen for years, that unless Elizabeth could be converted, a crusade against her would at last have to be undertaken. The defeat of Orange, the growing exhaustion of Condé—everywhere except on the sea,—the presence of the Queen of Scots in England, and Elizabeth's evident timidity in dealing with her; the seizure of the Spanish treasure, and the discontent provoked by the suspension of trade, had created at last in the opinions of many of them the opportunity for which they had waited so long.

The philosophy of history which resolves events into the action of organic and necessary laws, conceals from us the perplexities of the living instruments by which those events were brought about. We see what actually happened; we imagine that we discern the causes which determined the effects; and, in assuming a necessary connection between them, we smile at the needless fears, we ridicule the needless precautions, of kings and ministers; we despise them as short-sighted; we censure them as arbitrary and tyrannical; failing to perceive, or else failing to acknowledge, that if the results were inevitable, the characters which assisted to produce those results were inevitable also. By a subtle process of intellectual injustice, we convert the after-experience of facts into principles of reasoning which would have enabled us to foresee those facts; and we infer, with unconscious complacency, the superiority of modern intelligence.

'Knowledge of the result,' a wise man once observed, 'has spoilt the composition of history.' A just moral appreciation of conduct is made impossible by it. The remedy, so far as there is a remedy, is to look wherever we can through the eyes of contemporaries from whom the future was concealed.

Of the prospects and position of England in the opening months of the year 1569, a remarkable sketch has been left by Sir William Cecil—drawn either for his own use, according to his habit of looking everything in the face, or that he might place distinctly before Elizabeth the dangers to which he believed that she was exposed.

Except for the support of the Great Powers, the Papacy, he said, would have either fallen or would have been reformed. France and Spain, in their mutual jealousies, had both supported the Pope, in order to secure his friendship or to be safe from his enmity; and one or both of them would, sooner or later, assist him to recover England. The Queen had escaped so far, 'rather by accident than by policy or strength.' The death of Henry II., the civil war, the difficulties of Spain in Flanders and in the Mediterranean, had obliged both Catherine de Medici and Philip to temporize and affect a desire for her friendship. But Condé appeared at his last gasp, and, without help, would speedily fall; Alva was absolute in Flanders, and the favour shown to Mary Stuart had given renewed strength and spirits to the party opposed to the Regent in Scotland. At the first convenient moment either France or Spain, or both, would throw an army across the Channel. An excuse, if excuse was wanted, could be found in the asylum offered by England to the Protestant refugees, and in the forced detention of the Queen of Scots. Henry VIII. and Edward VI. had quarrelled with the Church of Rome. But in their time there was no pretender to the Crown. The Queen of Scots stood now before the world if not as legitimate Sovereign of England, yet as indisputably the next in blood. She had been deposed from her own throne for reasons which, however well understood in the beginning, yet had been rendered doubtful by the impotent results of the investigation, and she could represent herself as held a prisoner for no

cause which her rival dared to avow. Her 'determined Papistry' endeared her to the Catholics, and recommended her as an instrument to the foreign enemies of the Queen; while anxiety for an ascertained succession, the prospect of a union of the two Crowns, and natural pity for her misfortunes, made friends for her among all parties in England. 'The fame of her murdering her husband would by time vanish away, or by defence would be so handled as it should be no great block in her way to achieve her purposes.' On the other side, Elizabeth was without child, without husband, without ally, and almost without friends. Her subjects had, by long peace, been rendered unapt for war, and the disaffected among them 'had grown bold by her soft and remiss government.' 'The service of God,' 'and the sincere profession of Christianity, were much decayed;' 'and in place of it, partly Papistry, partly Paganism and irreligion had crept in;' 'baptists, deriders of religion, epicureans, and atheists were everywhere;' and 'such decay of obedience in civil policy, as compared with the fearfulness and reverence in time past, would astonish any wise and considerate person.' 'The Realm was so feeble, that it was fearful to think what would follow if the enemies were at hand to assail.' 'The case seemed so desperate as almost to take away all courage to seek a remedy.'[1]

It is both instructive and singular to find Cecil, the firmest and bravest advocate of the Reformation,

[1] Memorial on the State of the Realm, March 10, 1569: *Burghley Papers*, vol. i.

lamenting the decay of reverence and the spiritual disorder which we now see to have been its inevitable fruits. There were some features of danger in this estimate which were overrated; some sources of strength which were not appreciated. France and Spain were far from the triumph which Cecil believed them to have all but obtained. Triumph was not possible for them on the road which they had chosen. It might please Pius V. to give the blessing of the Church to Mary Stuart, and to make light of her crimes. As the Bishop of Ross justly argued, the orthodoxy of David had covered misdeeds of equal turpitude; and David for twenty centuries had been held up before the religious world as the man after God's heart. Yet men who were most opposed to the spirit of the times, were changed by it in spite of themselves; and not orthodoxy any more, but purity of hand and heart, was thenceforth to be the test of character. The English Catholics (the great bulk of them), forced as they were by circumstances to the side of Mary Stuart, yet never forgot Kirk o' Field, as Cecil thought they would forget it. When the moment came to strike, their arms were paralyzed; and even Philip II. had many scruples to swallow before he could appear in public as her champion against his sister-in-law.

Possibly too Cecil mistook the character of the anarchy which he deplored. He undervalued, especially, those fierce children of the sea to whom, in the end, Elizabeth was to owe her safety; and he misconstrued into lawlessness the free English energy which,

in the exultation of new-found liberty, was bursting the bounds of control.

February. Yet with these allowances there was enough in the prospect which he saw before him to justify the gravest alarm; and Cecil, who, unlike his mistress, was in favour of open measures, desired to meet the Catholic Powers by a combination like their own, and oppose to the Papal league the firm front of a Protestant confederacy. With the knife at all their throats it was no time to stand upon 'dainty' questions of the rights of subjects and sovereign; of the efficacy of the sacraments, or the operation of 'prevenient grace.' The remedy, so far as Cecil could see a remedy, was in an alliance between England, Sweden, Denmark, the German Princes, the Scotch Protestants, and the Calvinists in France and Flanders. He wished Elizabeth to declare distinctly for Condé and the Prince of Orange, and to avow before Europe that England would not look calmly on a general persecution for religion. It would be found both easier and cheaper to support the Reformers abroad while they were still in arms, than to wait to encounter the enemy single-handed after they had been destroyed. With equal frankness he desired her to maintain the Earl of Murray in Scotland; to give the Queen of Scots to understand that if she did not fulfil her engagements at once and ratify the treaty of Leith, she should be sent back over the Border to be dealt with as the Regent's Government should think proper; and to silence with a high hand the do-

mestic clamour for the settlement of the succession.[1]

The adoption of this policy, or of anything approaching to it, would necessarily terminate the compromise on which Elizabeth's Government had hitherto been carried on, and force into collision the opposite parties in the council. Except in 1562-3, when the attempt was made to recover Calais, the Queen had avoided embarrassing combinations with the Protestants on the Continent; and the conservative peers and country gentlemen were able to persuade themselves that they had no connection with them. The constitution of the Church of England, its apostolical government, and its formularies, which recognized a quasi real presence in the Eucharist, permitted them to believe that they were still members of the ancient corporation of Christendom; while the Calvinists were the enemies of order, civil and divine, disobedient to rulers, deriders of authority, scorners of the Blessed Sacrament. The English peers desired to see their sovereign taking her place beside her brother princes, maintaining and maintained by the old alliances, disowning and refusing all interest in the revolutionary rabble who had risen out of the dirt into rebellion. At home too the progress of the Reformation was in many ways unpalatable to them. The Howards, the Talbots, the Fitzalans, the Stanleys, the Percys, the Nevilles, the princely houses, who in their several

[1] Memorial of the State of the Realm, with remedies against the conspiration of the Pope and the two monarchies: *Burghley Papers*, vol. i. pp. 579, 588.

counties had represented for centuries the majesty of the sovereign—whose word was law, and from whom in a continuous chain the civil order of the State descended, looked coldly on the new men who were rising by trade, who owned the lands which had been taken from the Church, who acknowledged no fealty to them or theirs. The sea rovers too, with their aiders and abettors, had no place in the stately system of Feudal England. The disintegration, which had alarmed even Cecil, shocked and outraged the old-fashioned nobility. Their place was gone from them. A new world was rising round them, and a new order of things in which all objects held most sacred were being trampled in the mire.

The reception of Chatillon and the seizure of the Spanish treasure appeared to indicate that Elizabeth was yielding to the faction with whom, as they conceived, these mischiefs had originated.

On the termination of the inquiry at Hampton Court their discontent took active shape. There was no longer a probability that Elizabeth would be brought to recognize the Queen of Scots' succession; yet, in despair of finding a substitute for her, they satisfied themselves that her right must be maintained, and the question now was of the means by which it could be effected. Some of them—Lord Montague, Lord Southampton, and others—had been in correspondence with the Spanish ambassador about it before the meeting at York; and it was by them that her marriage with the Duke of Norfolk had been first originated. But it has

been seen that the Dacres succession had created a party among the Catholics opposed to Norfolk. The Northern nobles, Lord Dacres himself, the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Cumberland, and Lord Derby's sons if not their father, the most decidedly ultramontane among the peers, objected to the Duke's elevation both on grounds of interest and from a distrust of his fitness to conduct a religious revolution. The late Duchess had been a Catholic, and most of his household were Catholics, but he was himself nominally a member of the Church of England. In their eyes therefore the proper husband for the Queen of Scots was Don John of Austria; and as Elizabeth's consent to such an alliance was not to be looked for, this section of the peers contemplated open rebellion, the Queen's deposition, the restoration of the Catholic religion, and the immediate elevation of Mary Stuart to the throne. Don Guerau had communicated their views to Philip, and with the exception of the marriage with Don John, of which he said nothing, he gave a reluctant and general sanction to their enterprise.

Mary Stuart, believing Philip to be a fool as well as a fanatic, had injured her shaking credit with him by professing to have discovered a plot for his murder. She had written to Don Guerau from Bolton announcing that the heretics considered the King of Spain the greatest obstacle to the success of the Reformation, and that certain persons about his Court had been bribed to poison him. Don Guerau sent down a servant to her to learn further particulars, but she could tell no more

except vaguely that Cecil was the instigator.[1] Don Guerau sent her letters to Philip, indicating his own belief that the story had no better foundation than the talk in the servants' hall at Bolton; and Philip was rather irritated at the indefiniteness of the information than alarmed at the danger. After brief reflection he satisfied himself that it was mere smoke[2] and idle gossip, caught at by Mary Stuart in the hope of ingratiating herself with him.[3] He admitted however the expediency of making use of her. The arrest of the ships and money and the imprisonment of the ambassador were outrages too flagrant to be passed over. If an opportunity really offered itself for overthrowing Elizabeth's Government, he said that in the interest of religion he was willing to sanction her deposition, and he sent discretionary powers to the Duke of Alva to do whatever might seem expedient. The Queen of Scots he accepted as an unwelcome necessity. He bade Don Guerau tell her, that if she were true to her religion he would take up her cause, but his mind misgave him while he consented. 'It would be a bad business,' he admitted, 'to do anything inconsistent with the true Catholic faith.'[4]

But the Northern Lords and their confederates formed but the extreme division of the great party of

[1] Mary Stuart to Don Guerau, December 4, 1568: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] 'Cosa de humo.'

[3] Philip II. to Don Guerau, February ult.: *MSS. Simancas.*

[4] 'De cualquier manera que sea, es mal caso mezclar cosa ninguna que contradiga á nuestra verdadera y Catolica religion.'—Philip II. to Don Guerau, February 18: *MSS. Simancas.*

reaction. The majority of the peers desired indeed to change the public policy of England, to remodel the Church so as to eject the Genevans, and to open the way for reunion with Rome, but they did not wish for a violent revolution. They were in favour of the Queen of Scots' succession, yet they wanted rather a change of administration than a change of sovereign, and were willing to leave Elizabeth in possession for her life. They would not have disturbed her at all; they would have left the succession to nature had she consented to the Austrian marriage; it was only when this hope failed them, and the dangers which threatened England within and without became too manifest to be overlooked, that their dissatisfaction altered its character and took the form of disloyalty. Arundel and Norfolk saw as clearly as Cecil the critical situation of the country, and they wished to save it by returning to the old alliance with the house of Burgundy, by entailing the throne on Mary Stuart in despair of any other possible settlement, and, as a necessary consequence, by throwing a veil over her delinquencies. To these schemes Cecil was the great obstacle, and they resolved to lose no more time in removing so dangerous a counsellor from Elizabeth's cabinet. To them also the Spanish ambassador was the natural ally. His house was guarded, and their access to his person was no longer possible; but the arrests had thrown the trading interests of half Europe into confusion; and merchants, money-dealers, and those who seemed unconnected with politics, were admitted to see him at pleasure. Among

them, as yet unsuspected, was Robert Ridolfi, a Florentine banker, who, unknown to every one, was the agent of the Pope in London. He had pushed himself into private communication with the leaders of all parties from Cecil to Leonard Dacres, and he now made himself the instrument through whom all who wished it corresponded with Don Guerau.

The foreign relations of England were becoming every hour more threatening. As soon as the news of the seizure reached Spain English ships were arrested in the Peninsula as they had been in Flanders. Notwithstanding the hesitation of La Mothe Fénelon Catherine de Medici followed the example, in retaliation for the countenance to Chatillon and to Condé's privateers. The vessels trading at Havre and Bordeaux were forbidden to leave the harbours, and trade with France was closed except at the few ports which were held by the Huguenots. On the side of England there was no flinching. Spain and France together could not send a fleet into the Channel able to encounter Portault, Champernowne, and Hawkins; and in the value of property already seized Elizabeth had enormously the advantage. The balance in her favour was increased daily by the prizes which were brought into her ports;[1] and Alva, as his anger cooled, began to

[1] In addition to this advantage, the outstanding debts of the English merchants were large, and, of course, while the breach continued would not be paid. 'It is thought they will repent,' Cecil wrote, 'for England oweth in Antwerp 100,000*l.* more than it hath, and I think great riches is now in our ports.'—Cecil to Sir H. Sidney, January 6, 1569: *MSS. Ireland.*

doubt the prudence of an immediate rupture. Elizabeth affected the tone of an injured person who had had a quarrel thrust upon her. After a few weeks of chafing, the Duke sent over M. d'Assonleville, a member of the council of the Netherlands, to try the effect of remonstrance.

It is not pleasant to contemplate the number of lies told about this 'treasure.' In the face of the correspondence of Cecil with the Devonshire gentlemen, it can scarcely be pretended that Elizabeth at no time intended to appropriate the money. She may have changed her mind, compromised matters with Cecil by consenting to detain, while she intended eventually to restore it, and so have saved her conscience. So it was however that both Cecil and the Queen insisted that the chests had been landed at the request of the Spaniards themselves, and that the thought of laying violent hands on them had never been entertained for a moment. They pretended that the passage of the Channel was extremely dangerous from the pirates; the Queen had accidentally discovered that the money was the property of the Italian merchants, and she had doubted whether it would be well to expose so large a sum to further risk, and whether she might not borrow it herself. This was all that she had thought of, and was most innocent; but whilst she was hesitating the Duke of Alva, without provocation, right, or justice, had seized upon the ships of her subjects.

If this was her position Alva had only to accept it, prove the right of the King of Spain in the treasure,

and take the risk of the transport upon himself. He wanted money badly, and if he succeeded in recovering it he could exhibit Elizabeth before the world as having attempted an act of piracy, and as having failed, for want of courage, to maintain what she had done.

D'Assonleville came over hoping so to settle it; but he found that behind Elizabeth's words there lay a purpose, either in herself or in her advisers, which was not to be so easily dealt with. He could not obtain an audience of the Queen; he was not allowed to see Don Guerau; and he was detained in London from day to day, by excuses and evasive messages, till one part of the council or the other had prevailed, and till the Queen could determine whether to relinquish her prize or hold it. Some attention will be required to understand the intrigues on which the reader is about to enter. He will first consider carefully the two following letters of the Spanish ambassador.

DON GUERAU DE ESPES TO THE DUKE OF ALVA.

Feb. 20, *London.*

'Cecil is still dominant, and would declare open war against us, but for the remonstrances of others of the council. The Duke of Norfolk and Lord Arundel, with the assistance of our common friend Ridolfi, have contrived a means of communicating with me in cipher. They give me to understand that I may make myself easy about the money and the ships, which they assure me shall be immediately restored. If they have consented hitherto to their detention, and to Cecil's other

insolences, it is because they have so far been too weak to oppose him successfully: but meanwhile they have collected their friends; they have taken measures to undeceive the people as to the real character of the seizure, and they mean to make an end of the present infamous Government, to place the administration in the hands of Catholics, and compel the Queen to go along with them.[1] Your Excellency they trust will approve, and they hope this realm will not lose the friendship of the King our master. They say that they will re-establish the Catholic religion—there never was a more favourable opportunity—and Cecil, who imagines that he has them all under his feet, will find himself left without a friend.

'Cecil himself meanwhile is commencing a furious persecution. The prisons are overflowing, and in Bridewell there are a hundred and fifty Spaniards, who are forced to listen to heretic sermons, and are tempted by offers of rewards to become heretics themselves. They have removed the sentries under my windows; but rather because of the frost than for any better reason. My garden gates are nailed up, and the knight who is on guard over me is established with his family in my porter's lodge. Cecil, Bedford, and the Lord Admiral[2] advocate war; the Admiral, because of the opportunities which it will open to him for plunder. The rest of the

[1] The words are so important that they must be given in the original: 'Entretanto se han proveydo de amigos y han dado á entender lo que pasa al pueblo, y piensan quitar este gobierno que ahora hay, tan maldito, y levantar otro Catolico, y hacer consentir en el á la Reyna.'

[2] Clinton.

council are for peace.[1] The lords who are my friends tell me not to be distressed at my detention. Nothing is meant beyond preventing me from communicating with the Catholics.'

So far to Alva. A week later Don Guerau wrote to Philip:—

'D'Assonleville has had no audience, and while Cecil remains in power nothing will be done. He and his friends desire only to feed the fire in France and the Low Countries, believing that, if they can keep that flame unextinguished, they will be left alone in their heresies. They refuse to part with the money, unless your Majesty will send hither a special messenger to renew the old league, unless you will make compensation for outstanding injuries, and will apologize for the dismissal of Doctor Man. It will not be to your Majesty's honour to consent to these terms so long as the present Ministers are in power. There are many ways by which they can be shaken from their places. The Duke of Norfolk and Lord Arundel tell me that they will be the instruments of an alteration. The Catholics are arming under cover of an order from the Queen for

[1] The ordinary council, at this time, consisted of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Keeper of the Great Seal; the Marquis of Winchester, Lord Treasurer; Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Earl of Arundel, Lord High Constable; Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal; Lord Clinton, Lord High Admiral; Sir William Cecil, Principal Secretary of State; Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord Chamberlain; Earl of Pembroke, Lord Steward; Sir James Crofts, Controller of the Household; Earl of Leicester, Master of the Horse; Sir Francis Knowles, Treasurer of the Household; Earl of Bedford, Governor of Berwick; Earl of Sussex, President of the North.

the equipment of the musters; and they, with their friends among the peers, represent the vast majority of the nation. The interruption of the trade will suffice of itself to cause a revolution. Care only is necessary that no untoward accident occurs meanwhile in Flanders; and against this the wisdom and valour of the Duke will provide.

'I have learnt from the Duke of Norfolk what they mean to say to d'Assonleville. He tells me that I must not be displeased that he has consented to it; because he thus secures his uninterrupted access to the Queen, and learns the secrets of the other party. They are extremely jealous and suspicious. My guard have been partially removed; but my house is watched by spies, and there are sentinels at night at the doors. It is essential that their trade with France be kept closed. Without oil and alum they cannot continue their cloth manufacture, and when work is slack, and commerce suspended, then they will fly to arms.' [1]

These letters explain themselves without further comment. There were two projects on foot, to each of which the Spanish ambassador was a party; one was among the Northern lords, opposed to Norfolk, for a Catholic insurrection, the overthrow of Elizabeth, and a marriage, if Philip's sanction could be obtained for it, between the Queen of Scots and Don John: a second party, headed by Norfolk himself, desired a change of

[1] Don Guerau to the Duke of Alva, February 20. Don Guerau to Philip II., February 27: *MSS. Simancas.*

government, and the arrest, and probably the death, of Cecil. The Earl of Leicester, who bore Cecil no goodwill, and who feared the consequences to himself of a return to power of the old nobility, if he had not gained their goodwill beforehand, was prepared to act with them if they appeared likely to succeed.[1] It was a conspiracy like that which had overthrown Cromwell—so

[1] A scene is described as having taken place at the palace, which is obviously exaggerated or distorted; but being related in almost the same language both by Don Guerau and by La Mothe Fénelon, is probably not wholly without foundation. Don Guerau says that on Sunday morning, in the middle of February, Norfolk, Leicester, Northampton, Mildmay, and Cecil, were with the Queen. She was talking at one end of the room with Leicester and Cecil, and was persuading the former to agree to something which Cecil had proposed. Leicester, who was violently angry, told her that her throne would never be safe, till Cecil's head was off his shoulders. The Queen swore she would send Leicester to the Tower, and spoke so loud that every one present heard her. Norfolk observed aside to the rest that My Lord of Leicester was in high favour so long as he echoed Mr Secretary, but now, when he had an opinion of his own, he was to go to the Tower. 'By God,' he said, 'it shall not be; some remedy shall be for this.' 'Pray God it may be so,' Northampton answered. 'I have ever wished it.' Mildmay also said that some change was necessary; and the Duke, going up to the Queen, told her that he hoped when her anger was cooled, and she could reflect quietly on the condition of the Realm, she would feel the need of making better provision for her own and her subjects' safety. He and his friends, as her faithful servants and councillors, would consider what ought to be done. The Queen left them in confusion—showing signs of great distress. La Mothe Fénelon tells the same story, but says it happened on Ash Wednesday, in the evening before supper. 'The lords,' he adds, 'intended to call Cecil to account for his whole administration from the beginning of the reign. Cecil had endeavoured to frighten Leicester by saying that he was as responsible as himself. Leicester answered that Cecil alone was to blame, and he should provide for his own safety.'—Don Guerau to Philip II., February 22: *MSS. Simancas.* La Mothe Fénelon au Roy, March 8. Mémoire à part au Sieur de Sabran: *Dépêches*, vol. i.

nearly identical, that Cecil himself could scarcely have been unconscious of the resemblance. He had inherited Cromwell's policy, in all points except its violence. His hands were as yet pure from blood, and he had not sought those invidious personal honours which had set the blood of the old peers on fire. In all else he had trodden in the same steps, and had brought upon himself the same hatred.

But besides these two schemes, there was a third, in which the chameleon Norfolk was wearing far different colours. Like a prudent gambler, he did not risk his fortune on the success of a single speculation.

It is necessary to go a little back.

It will be remembered that the conference at York was broken up, on the report reaching the Queen that a marriage was talked of between Norfolk and the Queen of Scots. The Duke returned to London, staggered by the sight of the letters to Bothwell, and disinclined for the adventure. He complained to Elizabeth—perhaps in good faith—of the stories which were abroad about him; 'he reported matters of the Queen of Scots to think her not meet to be had by him in marriage,' and protested that he had no intentions of the kind.

Elizabeth, not altogether satisfied, and knowing the inducements which had been and would again be held out to him, said, 'that although he did now mislike of it, yet he might percase be induced to like of it, for the benefit of the Realm, or percase for her own safety.'

Norfolk answered boldly, 'that no reason could move him to like her that had been a competitor for

the crown. If her Majesty herself would move him to it, he would rather be committed to the Tower, for he never meant to marry with such a person where he could not be sure of his pillow.'[1]

The Queen 'did well allow his vehement disliking of that marriage.' The Duke asserted afterwards that at the time he meant what he said;[2] and nothing could be gathered from the part which he took at the second conference which would imply that he had permitted his mind to return to the subject. Yet it seems either that his chief objection was the infamy which would attach to the Queen of Scots by the exposure which he then believed inevitable; or that he had allowed himself to be talked over by Maitland.

Of all those who had been parties to the proceedings at Hampton Court, the Earl of Murray had most reason to complain. He had been induced against his will to accuse his mistress, yet she had not been condemned. He believed—and his fears were confirmed by a thousand private assurances—that she would ultimately be restored, and he and his friends, after the part which they had taken, would then be irretrievably ruined. He was told that by producing the letters he had mortally offended the Duke of Norfolk, and that, if he left London the Duke standing discontented, 'he would have his throat cut before he reached Berwick.' 'Being,' as he said, 'at the uttermost point of his wit

[1] Summary of matters wherewith the Duke of Norfolk has been charged: *Burghley Papers*, vol. i.

[2] Trial of the Duke of Norfolk: *State Trials*, vol. i.

to imagine where matters would tend,' he consented to a private interview with Norfolk, and met him in the park at Hampton Court.

The Duke reminded him of their conversation at York, and first reproached him for want of consideration for his sister. He replied, 'that so far from not loving his sister, she was the creature upon earth he loved the best. He never wished her harm; her own pressing was the occasion of that which was uttered to her infamy.'

The Duke then spoke of Mary Stuart's general position, of the succession to the crown, and the necessity of settling it, of the impossibility of finding any other person in whose favour it would be determined; he alluded to the union of the realms; to the quiet of Scotland—to all those subjects which had been dwelt upon again and again, and were familiar to both of them: the road to their attainment lay through the Queen of Scots' marriage with some English nobleman who would be agreeable to all parties; and the Duke implied, that if he himself were again to think of it, the Queen of England would make no objection. He did not directly mention himself, but he left Murray to understand what he meant. He did not say that Elizabeth would consent; yet his words, and 'the circumstances of the case, gave Murray matter enough to think that she had been foreseen in the Duke's design.'[1] So far as the world knew, the Duke was a Protestant.

[1] Murray to Elizabeth, October 29, 1569: *MSS. Scotland.* Compare Trial of the Duke of Norfolk, *State Trials*, vol. i.

To Murray it could easily be represented that a marriage between him and the Queen of Scots, if sanctioned by Elizabeth, would, under the present circumstances, be the best guarantee for the stability of the Reformed faith. He had heard something of the scheme for her marriage with Don John, and since compromise seemed now inevitable, this perhaps was the best form in which it could take effect. He told the Duke that, 'as soon as his sister would repent of her doings, separate herself from Bothwell, and be joined with such a personage as was affectioned to the true religion, whom Scotland might trust, he would love her as well as ever he did in his life; if that person should be the Duke of Norfolk, there was none he would like better, provided the Queen consented.'

So they parted. The Duke warned him to tell no one but Maitland what had passed; and he promised to communicate with him again when circumstances permitted. Meanwhile he sent orders to the Nortons to 'stay the enterprise' at Northallerton, and to leave the Earl unmolested on his way back to Scotland.[1]

After this interview, Norfolk, on the plea of sickness, was for some weeks absent from the Court, corresponding, through Ridolfi, with Don Guerau, and feeling his way among the other parties into which the council and the Peers were divided. The opinion which had been expressed so boldly by Sir Francis Knowles, that the Queen was incapable of carrying through any bold

[1] Confession of the Bishop of Ross, November 6, 1571: MURDIN

or consistent course was shared by every one. All expected that Cecil's defiance of Spain would end in ruin, if the Queen of Scots was to continue in England, as a perpetual instigator to conspiracies; and as there were two parties among the Catholics, so among the more moderate Protestants there were men whose loyalty to Elizabeth was undoubted, while they were assured that things could not safely continue as they were. If Mary Stuart were not to be disgraced, it was really necessary to marry her to some Englishman of rank whose patriotism could be relied upon; and they too, for the same reasons which had been laid before Murray, agreed on Norfolk as the fittest person. Leicester, finding perhaps that the Catholics looked coldly on him, with the Earl of Pembroke and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, were the leaders of this new faction They took the Bishop of Ross into their confidence, and the Bishop, after consulting Norfolk, agreed to assist. To Don Guerau Norfolk had represented himself as only anxious for the restoration of Catholicism. The conditions of the new alliance were an easier version of the terms first proposed at York, as the basis of the intended compromise; and it is probable that Norfolk had been made aware of them before he spoke to Murray. All outstanding quarrels in Scotland were to be considered at an end; the abdication at Lochleven was to be cancelled; the murder forgotten, and religious rights respected on all sides. The Queen of Scots was to abandon her foreign intrigues and alliances, ratify the treaty of Leith, and become a member of the Church of England,

where she was to continue to reside. The guarantee for her good behaviour would be her marriage with Norfolk, and her own ambition and the vanity of Scotland was then to be gratified by the entailment upon her of the English crown. This arrangement, it was supposed, would satisfy the moderate of all parties in both countries, and would take from France and Spain their best pretext for invading England, and their best chance of success if they made the attempt. Elizabeth was not to be consulted till the Queen of Scots' consent had been obtained, and till every security had been provided for herself which she could possibly desire—perhaps till she could be tempted with a hope of receiving at last, as part of the same arrangement, the hand of her adored Leicester. He, at all events, was the most active in the negotiation. The Bishop of Ross suggested that Leicester should himself marry the Queen of Scots, but the Earl 'for many reasons considered himself unmeet for that honour.' He said, 'he did not suppose the Duke would think of it, except it was for the benefit of the Queen and the realm;' but 'he considered there was no better remedy for so dangerous a woman, and it would be well to make a virtue of necessity, if the Queen's Majesty would allow it.' Pembroke used the same language. The Queen, he thought, would find herself unable to keep the Queen of Scots prisoner; 'and, seeing the estate of things so greatly changed in France and Spain, and the Earl of Murray standing in so tickle terms in Scotland,' he was 'of opinion,' and Sir Nicholas agreed with him, 'that for these causes and others, with pro-

vision made, her Highness and the realm would take commodity' by her marriage with the Duke, if the Duke himself would agree to it.

The Bishop of Ross undertook that his mistress would do anything which the Queen of England and the nobility desired. The Duke, 'with all manner of earnestness,' as if he had waited for this assurance, professed himself willing. 'Although,' he said, 'he would prefer to remain unmarried, yet, if the Queen of Scots would accept him, he would be content to sacrifice himself' for 'the welfare of his country.'[1]

Richard Cavendish, a son of Lady Shrewsbury by a previous marriage, went down to the Queen of Scots on behalf of Leicester, with presents and compliments.[2] The Queen of Scots confirmed the Bishop's engagements for her; and it was agreed that, when the arrangements were sufficiently advanced, Maitland should come up from Scotland, and, in the Regent's name, make a formal proposal for the marriage.

All this the Duke of Norfolk concealed carefully from Don Guerau. To the ambassador he represented himself as seeking for nothing but a return to communion with Rome. He was playing with all sides for all events; in case Elizabeth fell, or was compelled to

[1] Examination of the Earl of Pembroke, September 29, 1569; Examination of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, October 10, 1569: *Burghley Papers*, vol. i. Confession of the Duke of Norfolk, November 10, 1571: *MSS.*, MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS, *Rolls House*.

[2] Among the presents—'as she seemed to be afraid of poison'—Leicester sent her 'three special preservatives;' 'a stone in a gold box,' 'a silver box with Mithridate,' 'and a horn of some beast.'—Norfolk's Confession: Ibid.

sacrifice her ministers, he wished to be able to plead his services with Philip, and obtain the hand of the Queen of Scots in that way, in spite of the desire of the Northern nobles to see her married to Don John.[1] He was deceiving Don Guerau, and he was deceiving also Leicester and Pembroke; while the Queen of Scots and the Bishop of Ross were in return deceiving him. While the Duke was persuading himself that in one way or the other he was making sure of her, and while to him she pretended that she had no other desire, the Bishop of Ross was telling Don Guerau, that at the bottom of her heart she intended, if she could, to take a Spanish husband;[2] and the Queen of Scots herself found means to inform Don Guerau, that although her position obliged her to temporize and seem to acquiesce in the proposals which were made to her, yet in religion and in everything else she was in reality at Philip's disposition; Philip's pleasure should be hers; and, were she at liberty, she would not marry the Duke of Norfolk, but would place herself and her son under Philip's protection.[3]

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[1] 'Podria ser que el Duque de Norfolk tuviese intencion despues de haber hecho servicio á su Magd. de ver si seria contento de favorescerle en el casamiento con la Reyna de Escocia.' — Don Guerau to Alva, March 15: *MSS. Simancas.* In the decipher the last words are, 'con la Reyna de Inglaterra;' but the Queen of Scots was the person evidently meant. There was never any hint of a marriage between Norfolk and Elizabeth. It was perhaps a mistake of the secretary.

[2] 'Dióme parte de lo que V^a E^a trató con estos caballeros cerca del casamiento de su ama, diciendo que en España habia cosa que le conviniese mucho. Preguntóme si tenia yo alguna commission acerca desto.' —Don Guerau to Alva: *MSS. Simancas.*

[3] 'La dicha Reyna dice que si ella estuviese en libertad ó se le

Meanwhile, although near the surface the wind was moving in these uncertain eddies, the upper current of events and actions was rolling stormily onwards. The injury to English trade was less absolute than Don Guerau expected. An eventual rupture with Spain had been foreseen and prepared for. Sir Henry Killigrew during the past year had been negotiating fresh openings in the ports of the Baltic, and Hamburgh was willing to take the place of Antwerp as the mart from which English goods could be carried into Germany. The merchant adventurers had pushed their way to Moscow and even to Persia. The western mariners, who preferred a Turk to a Catholic, and on the whole regarded him as a better Christian, were trading 'up the Straits' with Constantinople and Alexandria. Rochelle could supply the best wines and fruits of France; Rochelle privateers intercepted the vessels which sailed from the Catholic harbours, and their cargoes lay ready piled for export in the Huguenot storehouses. The passing loss would be converted to gain by English energy and spirit, and on these Cecil, for his part, was willing to rely. D'Assonleville received the answer at last which Don Guerau expected. He was told that the Queen declined to negotiate with Alva. The King of Spain must send a commission directly from himself,

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diera tal socorro que confiara reducir con él su Reyno á su obediencia, que á su persona y á la de su hijo entregara en poder de V. Magd., pero que ahora será forçada seguir y tomar el tiempo como viene y toda via no se apartará jamas de la voluntad de V. Magd. assi en lo de la religion como en cualquiera otra cosa.'—Don Guerau to Philip, 1569: *MSS. Simancas.*

if the relations between him and England were to be re-established. To give emphasis to his dismissal, the ships which escorted him back to Dunkirk, under his very eyes, with ingenious insolence, cut out from Calais roads two rich Spanish merchantmen, and swept them back into the Thames. In the Channel and out of it, in harbour and in the open sea—wherever a vessel could be found with a Catholic owner, it was plundered by the English rovers. Some lay in wait for such ships and galleys as contained Flemish prisoners, whom they would set at liberty.[1] Others plunged into the Spanish ports themselves, to rescue the English vessels, crews, and cargoes which were detained there, and helping themselves to any valuables which they might encounter in the process on sea or shore.[2] The prisoners whom they took on these expeditions they brought home as hostages for their countrymen, caged them in the harbour gaols, and tortured them with daily homilies from Protestant ministers.[3]

To the yet deeper distress of Philip, the house of one of the largest Spanish merchants in London was

[1] 'Otro siete navios Ingleses peléaron con dos navios Españoles de pasage cargados de fardeles de Flandes, y el uno navio escapó destos con muerto el majestro de ella, y capitan y otros quatro compañeros, y el otro navio quedó peleando con ellos de que no se sabe lo que se ha hecho, el cual navio traya 32 forçados de Flandes.'—Memorial presented by Don Guerau to the English council: *Spanish MSS. Rolls House.*

[2] 'Una nave Inglesa ha venido de Vigo que enviáron de aqui armada para sacar los Ingleses y ropa que alli tenian, y se dió buena maña; y sacó doce mercadores y ciento y viente paños y cuarenta mill escudos en plata.'—Don Guerau al Duque de Alva, Marti 20: *MSS. Simancas.*

[3] Don Guerau al Rey, February 27: *MSS.* Ibid.

searched by Elizabeth's police; the furniture of his chapel, the crucifixes, the images of the saints were carried away, borne in mock procession through the streets, and burnt in Cheapside, amidst the jests of the populace, who cried, as they saw them blazing, 'These are the Gods of Spain!—to the flames with them, and to the flames with their worshippers!'[1]

At all this work Cecil looked on complacently,[2] and with France he followed, though less openly, the same audacious policy. The fleet which La Mothe had discovered to be in preparation sailed under Sir William Winter for Rochelle, and carried supplies to Condé. Guns and powder were landed there, and as much money as Elizabeth could spare. La Mothe waited on her to remonstrate; and of course she protested her innocence. She spoke with the strongest seeming disapproval of Condé, and professed to be delighted at the successes of the Crown. But La Mothe had the most exact information. She had consented reluctantly; but she had consented nevertheless. The open sailing orders to Winter had

March.

[1] Don Guerau to Alva, April 30. The letter mentions many other outrages, but against this last especially, Philip scored in the margin his agitated marks of distress.

[2] Half deprecatingly—as perhaps being not quite certain of his correspondent—he wrote in the midst of it to Sir Henry Sidney:—'The arrest between us and Flanders continueth still in one state, saving that daily, ships of King Philip's, with merchandise, come in so plentifully as in policy it may tempt somewhat otherwise to be done than was meant at the beginning. I, myself, like peace best, for though in wars I hazard not myself, yet my labour and pain be as great as whoso taketh most.'—Cecil to Sidney, February 28: *MSS. Ireland.*

contained no mention of the Prince, nor any indication that he was to receive assistance; but further instructions had been added in a private note, which Cecil had drawn and the Queen had signed.[1] Without exposing her evasion, the ambassador insisted on what was too patent to deny. A whole fleet of English rovers were sailing under Condé's flag, and selling their prizes, as they took them, in Plymouth and Dover. If she was herself innocent in these matters, she was responsible, as a sovereign, for the acts of her own officers and subjects; and, on the 8th of March, under orders from Paris, he offered her peace or war. If she chose war, it should be war open and avowed; if peace, the privateers must be called in, and the English harbours closed against the Huguenots. He allowed her fifteen days to consider her answer.[2]

Threats of this kind Cecil believed that she could safely defy. War with France would not be unpopular in England, where the Calais wound was still rankling. Scotland and the prisoner at Bolton were more inveterate difficulties. On this subject too, at the close of the conference, La Mothe had ventured a remonstrance; but here Elizabeth was on firmer ground, and could speak with conscious integrity. 'She had no cause,' she said proudly, 'to change her pale colour for any charge which could be brought against her for her treatment of her sister. Rather, if she was pressed, she would show matter for her justification which would

[1] La Mothe Fénelon au Roy, January 10, and January 24: *Dépêches*, vol. i. [2] Ibid., March 8.

crimson the cheek of the Queen of Scots.'[1] The Duke of Chatelherault had come to London to watch the process. At the end of it she dismissed him with an intimation that she intended to support Murray, and she lent Murray himself three thousand pounds at his departure for Scotland, to assist him in rallying his friends. She gave him to understand however (and it was this which betrayed him into his correspondence with Norfolk), that she could not undertake the perpetual custody of the Queen of Scots. For the example's sake, she could not recognize the right of subjects to rebel; and, whatever her faults had been, some arrangement would certainly have to be made for his sister's return. The casket letters must not be published. He must consult with his party, and send her up the conditions under which the restoration could be ventured.[2]

Meanwhile, the inflammatory letters which Mary Stuart had written to the Hamiltons, and a general knowledge of her English intrigues, impressed on Elizabeth the necessity of removing her to some straiter custody. Lady Scrope, as Norfolk's sister, was a dangerous hostess. Knowles was anxious to be relieved of his charge, and Mary Stuart was transferred to Tutbury, where she was to be for the future under the care of the Earl of Shrewsbury. The temper of the English nobles obliged the Queen to be more than usually circumspect in the choice of the person who was to under-

[1] La Mothe Fénelon au Roy, February 10: *Dépêches*, vol. i.

[2] Instructions of such things as are to be done in Scotland, January 1569: *Cotton. MSS.* Calig. B. 8.

take the ungracious office. The Earl of Shrewsbury was selected because he was half a Catholic, because he belonged to the party who had been most in favour of the Queen of Scots' succession, and because therefore her friends could feel that in his hands she was in no danger of foul play. Elizabeth perhaps intended to secure his loyalty by placing confidence in him. He was charged to prevent the Queen of Scots' escape, but 'to treat her with the honour and reverence due to a princess of the blood royal.' He was not however to carry his regard too far. 'Besides the vehement presumption against her for the horrible murdering of her husband,' he was made acquainted 'with other particularities,' to enable him to reply to her complaints. He was desired to tell her that, if she was over-loud in her outcries, 'it might be an occasion that her whole cause and doings should be published to the world, and thereof would follow many things to her prejudice, which she and her friends would regret.'[1] Elizabeth at the same time wrote a few lines to her, to reconcile her to her condition, and to assure her that, notwithstanding her removal from Bolton, 'if no impediment was ministered by herself, she would take care of her cause;' 'her disposition was still, as far as honour might bear, to do all that was possible for her restoration.'[2]

At Tutbury Castle for the last winter months the Queen of Scots remained. The Bishop of Ross and

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[1] Commission to the Earl of Shrewsbury: *MSS.* QUEEN OF SCOTS, *Rolls House.*

[2] Elizabeth to the Queen of Scots, February 3: *MSS.* QUEEN OF SCOTS, *Rolls House.*

Lord Boyd were settled a few miles distant at Burton, to carry on her correspondence and to keep up her different intrigues, while Herries returned to Scotland, where Murray was trying to compose the distracted elements into which he had been flung. Mary Stuart did not make his work more easy for him: besides her first fierce letter, she had written on the 30th of January to the Archbishop of St Andrews, telling him to watch Murray closely, to fear nothing and listen to no persuasion, and if Murray struck, to strike in return.[1] The spirit however on both sides proved conciliatory. Chatelherault had been frightened by Elizabeth's words to him, and Herries was in Norfolk's secret, and was willing to acquiesce in the arrangements which the Duke had talked over with the Regent. On the 13th of March a partial convention met at Glasgow, where the outlines of a general settlement were proposed and agreed to. The Hamiltons undertook to submit to the Regency, if their forfeitures were cancelled, if they were allowed a place in the council, and if the other side would consider of measures for the return of the Queen. The meeting passed off quietly, and it was arranged that the Lords should reassemble in six weeks at Edinburgh. Argyle and Huntly would then be present, and the conditions could be finally determined on which Scotland was for the future to be governed.

So far things promised well, but a war with France would throw all again into confusion. It was now to

[1] Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of St Andrews, January 30: LABANOFF, vol. ii.

be seen whether France and Spain, in resentment at their common injuries, could agree at last to attack England together; whether, if they could not move in concert, either one or the other would look on; or whether the jealousies which had held them so long apart could resist these new provocations, and continue as before to protect Elizabeth from attack. The persistence of the political traditions of the great war, long after the conditions out of which they had risen had past away, is one of the most remarkable features in the history of the sixteenth century. Having given in its ultimatum through La Mothe, the French Government dared not move actively till it had consulted and received the sanction of Philip. The Cardinal of Guise went to Madrid to learn his pleasure, and Philip at once recommended France to settle its difficulties at home before quarrelling with its neighbours.[1] Philip, expecting daily a change of government in England which would bring back into power the friends of Spain, had no desire to sacrifice his own game. The conquest of Scotland and the invasion of England by the French friends of Mary Stuart were more terrible to him than heresy there, or than the destruction of his commerce by the privateers; a too triumphant France might stretch its

[1] 'Parece que en ninguna manera le conviene romper con los de fuera, sino de attender al assiento de sus cosas propias, y acabar de castigar y deshacer sus rebeldes, llevando adelante la victoria que Dios contra ellos le ha dado; pues esta claro que mientras estos duraren no le cumple por ninguna via tomar otras empresas fuera de su casâ, ni mover los humores y zelos que de la liga que se apunta podrian nacer.'—Respuesta de su Magestad al Cardenal de Guisa sobre las cosas de Inglaterra, ultimo de Abril 1569: *MSS. Simancas.*

hand to his own distracted Netherlands, or by holding both sides of the narrow seas cut him off from access to them.

Catherine de Medici might not have sat down patiently under the prohibition, though if she had flown in the face of it, Philip probably would have followed it up by war; but in England itself there was no internal party on which she could calculate to assist an invasion. The Catholics and the friends of Spain were those who represented the traditions of the Plantagenets; and Norfolk, while insisting to Elizabeth on the necessity of coming to terms with Philip, again professed his willingness to consent to the war with France.[1]

Amidst these uncertainties Cecil had to feel his dangerous way. Whether aware or ignorant of the conspiracy against him, he must have known that he was playing for his own life as well as for all for which he valued life. Elizabeth still allowed herself to be guided by him, and he in turn was guided chiefly by his horror of the tyranny of Alva. 'The Queen,' wrote Don Guerau on the 28th of February, 'although an able woman, is in matters of importance confused and vacillating; she has a natural inclination for heresy, and Cecil being its greatest champion, she dare not vary as yet in any point from his advice;'[2] 'Cecil's single

[1] 'El Duque de Norfolk ha comenzado de hablar á la Reyna despues de la presa de estas Urcas, diciendole que se cargaba la guerra de un Principe tan grande como el Rey Catolico, y juntamente instaba el rompimiento contra el Rey de Francia.'—Don Guerau to Alva, April 10: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] 'Y como es naturalmente aficionada á esta heregia, y Sicel es tan gran ministro della, no osa aun

principle is detestation of the Catholic faith, and as he has never been on the Continent, he thinks that England is all the world.'[1]

If England was to go to war, Cecil still preferred Spain as an enemy to France. He was determined that there should be no reconciliation, except on terms which would make the Catholics despair ever more of Philip's assistance. He had brought his mistress to the edge of absolute rupture, but there she paused; 'the word war was dreadful to her.'[2] It meant expenses, it meant loans from the Jews, it meant taxation and its consequent unpopularity. She could not bear to hear of it, and here therefore, on her weak side, Cecil's enemies had the advantage. If she desired peace it was obvious to tell her that she must take measures to preserve peace; and many a storm had Cecil to encounter, as she wavered between her opposite advisers. In extremities Elizabeth did not stay to pick her words. 'She cursed those who had tempted her to take the Spanish treasure: she wished the Devil had flown away with them.'[3] But the happy inconsistencies of her character kept her conduct firm while her speech varied. 'She could not bring

apartarse un solo punto del parecer de Sicel.'—Don Guerau to Cayas, February 28: *MSS. Simancas.*

[1] This is a mistake—Cecil accompanied Lord Paget to the Low Countries in 1554 to bring back Cardinal Pole.

[2] 'No quiere oyr hablar de guerra' was the report of a palace spy to Don Guerau. According to La Mothe her constant words in the council were:—'Je ne veulx point la guerre, je ne veulx point la guerre.'—*Dépêches*, April 20.

[3] 'La Reyna maldice á todos los que le habláron en el arresto del dinero, diciendo que queria que antes los hubiera llevado el Diablo, porque vee bien que estas cosas la podrian hacer caer en una guerra.'—Descifrada del Italiano, March 15 *MSS. Simancas.*

herself to unclasp her hold on the money. She felt that come what would, she could not afford to yield to fear, and she was proud of the wild achievements of her sailors. When Don Guerau complained of the plunder in the Channel, Cecil gave the proud answer, April. that the Queen of England was sovereign of the narrow seas, and he would make her rule acknowledged there. Don Guerau said, that 'the sea was too fickle an element for a lady's sceptre;' but Elizabeth, however she might complain, was substantially of Cecil's opinion, and refused to interfere with him.[1]

At this crisis arrived the untimely news of the battle of Jarnac.[2] The winter had been passed in a series of desultory skirmishes, which on the whole had been favourable to the Huguenots. Condé had readvanced to the Loire. The Duc de Deux Ponts was preparing to come to his assistance out of Germany; and it seemed as if the war, especially with Elizabeth's help, might still be indefinitely prolonged, when Condé was unexpectedly forced into an action at Jarnac, between Angoulême and Cognac; and there, besides losing a battle, lost his life. In itself the defeat was of no consequence. The Admiral easily rallied the Huguenot army. He kept the field, and was not obliged to retire from any important position. Condé was in himself worth but little; his place of command was better filled by the young

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[1] 'Respondióme Sicel que queria hacer á la Reyna de Inglaterra Señora deste Mare con supremo dominio. Yo le dixe que era muy inconstante este elemento por querer lo predominar la serenissima Reyna.' —Don Guerau to Philip, April 23.

[2] March 13.

Prince of Navarre, who succeeded to it; but, as a Prince of the blood royal, he was of an importance far beyond his personal merit; and at the first news, his cause was supposed to have perished with him. The effect upon Elizabeth was to decide her to keep the peace with France at all events and hazards. She did not know that Philip had stood her friend so conveniently. The French refugees in London petitioned her in the name of God not to desert their brethren but she sent in haste for La Mothe Fénelon, and told him that the privateers should have no more access to her harbours; her own subjects should no longer serve among them, and the French prizes which they had taken should be restored. She wished, she said, that there was less violence in France; she wished the Government would not persecute the Huguenots; she wished the Huguenots would be less scrupulous about attending mass; but for herself, she would meddle no more between them.

La Mothe was courteous, and received her advances graciously. To France, at least, he was assured that she would give no more cause of complaint.[1] Towards Mary Stuart also, professedly out of deference to the wishes of the Queen-mother, she showed some increase of cordiality. From the gloom of Tutbury she allowed her to be removed to Wingfield, a pleasant country-house belonging to Lord Shrewsbury. She wrote letters to her unnecessarily warm, to which the Queen of Scots replied in a corresponding tone. The two Queens were

[1] La Mothe Fénelon au Roy, April 12, April 20 · *Dépêches*, vol. i.

thenceforth to live together as loving and affectionate sisters.[1] It was unfortunate for them both that Elizabeth never could understand the mischief of exaggerated language, and that she was but teaching her prisoner to despise as well as distrust her. The Queen of Scots enclosed Elizabeth's letters to La Mothe Fénelon, with a few words of most expressive contempt. 'The Queen of England has changed her note,' she said, 'because of Jarnac, although she would persuade me that Jarnac is nothing. I believe this as much as I believe her fine words.'[2]

The Huguenots, it was clear, were to be left to their fate. Towards Philip however the attitude was firm as ever, and Don Guerau began to be anxious for the promised deposition of Cecil. The lords had talked largely to him, but nothing had been done. The reputation of the English was rather as men of action than as men of words, and the ambassador accounted for their slowness by supposing that the national character had degenerated.[3] The first step, when at length they resolved to move, was not calculated to restore his confidence. To create difficulties in the city, without which it seemed they durst not stir, Arundel and Norfolk drew up a proclamation, which they sent to Don Guerau, and desired that it might be published by Alva in the Netherlands. The purport of it was, that the arrest of

[1] Mary Stuart to Elizabeth, April 8; Mary Stuart to Cecil, same date: LABANOFF, vol. ii.

[2] Mary Stuart to La Mothe Fénelon, April: Ibid.

[3] 'Pienso que aquellos Señores se hubieran declarado mas y mas presto, sino que esta nacion no tiene al corazon que antes solia.'—Don Guerau to Alva, March 15.

the ships and merchants at Antwerp had not been made as an act of hostility against the English nation, but was aimed merely at a party in the council, who, contrary to the advice and wishes of the ancient nobility, had broken the old league between Spain and England.[1] A threat of war might conveniently be added. They recommended that the King of Spain, if their mistress wrote to him, should return no answer; and, last and most important, they suggested that the Duke of Alva should find means to intercept the great fleet which was going to Hamburgh. Half the wealth of the merchants of London would be on board, and if this could be taken, and the Hamburgh project annihilated at the same time, the citizens, already discontented, would take arms. They said that they would then place themselves at the head of the insurrection, and the Queen would then be compelled to part with the detested Secretary.[2] From Don Guerau the two noblemen went to La Mothe: notwithstanding Elizabeth's change of tone, they expressed a hope that

[1] A proclamation very much to this effect was actually published by Alva. Don Guerau says distinctly that it was devised by the two English noblemen with a view to create an insurrection:—'El Duque de Norfolk y el Conde de Arundel me diéron una forma de proclamacion, que deseaban que el Duque de Alva mandase publicar; pensando con ella y con la estrecheza del trato que el pueblo se levantará y ellos podrian mudar al Gobierno.'—Don Guerau to Alva, April: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] Don Guerau never ceased to insist on the importance of catching the Hamburgh fleet. 'Con solo impedir que esta flota no vaya ó sea presa los Ingleses son rendidos,' he says on one occasion; and again: 'Si las naves que V^a E^a ha dado licencia que se armen estuvieron al punto de tal manera que pudiesen coger esta tan rica presa, seria conquistar esta Isla.'—Don Guerau to Alva, March 20 or April 10: *MSS. Simancas.*

France would still act with Alva—France, with whom but lately Norfolk had invited Elizabeth to go to war. They desired him to advise his Government to send in a bill of injuries as large as they could possibly make it; and they suggested that some Italian troops, whom the Pope had sent to France to assist in putting down the Huguenots, should be quartered in Normandy, as if for action in England.

All this was not very chivalrous. 'They are the most cautious people in the world,' Don Guerau wrote to Alva. 'They will do nothing unless we help them and show the way.' Yet their scheme might be worth executing, he thought, in default of braver measures. 'If your Excellency's ships,' he said, 'can but catch this rich prize, it will be the conquest of the Island.'

Hard language about men whose work for good or ill has been long past should have no place in history. It is enough to relate what they did with such allowance as the circumstances and passions of the time can suggest. Yet, if treason has a meaning—treason to the State, which is worse than treason to the person of the sovereign—these noblemen, who deliberately for their own purposes plotted the ruin of English commerce, deserved whatever penalty law or justice could demand against them. Norfolk's guilt especially was rendered deeper by the treachery with which, at the same time, he was playing with the honour of Murray and the loyalty of Pembroke. As the plot thickened the Catholics throughout England made ready for the conflict. They sent Don Guerau word, that with the

first display of a Spanish flag on English soil, they would rise as a man in Philip's name, and the heretics and the pirates should meet their deserts.[1]

Had Catherine de Medici cared more for the Catholic faith than she cared for France, English Protestantism would have had a fiery trial before it. But as Philip could not permit the French to invade England, so Catherine was as little able to look complacently upon a revolution in favour of Spain; and the more long-sighted of the Catholics themselves began to fear that religion would be lost sight of in the quarrels of the two great Powers, and that England, as was said before, 'would become another Milan.' A secret agent of Pope Pius in London told La Mothe Fénelon, that if there was any difference of opinion—if there was the faintest cloud of suspicion between the Courts of Paris and Madrid—it would be better for Christendom that England should be let alone; the evil of interfering would outweigh the good. Don Guerau had desired that, to increase the mercantile pressure in London, the English should be excluded from the ports of France: 'I know not what to think about this,' La Mothe Fénelon wrote to his sovereign: 'it may be that the Duke of Alva means only to extort from England reparation for his own wrongs, and when he has

[1] 'Muchos Catolicos me escriben cartas secretamente que en viendo banderas de V. Mag^{d} en este reyno se levantaran todos para servirle; y cierto como se me dan entender por V. Mag^{d} en la reduccion del y castigo de algunos insolentes hereges y desvergonzados ladrones, yo no tengo por cosa dificil en sugetar este reyno ó á lo menos hacer mudar el gobierno y religion.'—Don Guerau to Philip, April 2: *MSS. Simancas.*

implicated your Majesty in the quarrel will make up his own differences with the Queen and leave the storm to fall on you. If I may venture to advise, your Majesty will remain on good terms with the Pope and the Catholic King, but you will remain also at peace with this realm. You may tell the council here, that inasmuch as their conduct has been so outrageous both towards the Catholics and the Queen of Scots; inasmuch as they have allowed so many heretics to collect here from all parts of Europe, and have made England the focus of so many heretic conspiracies, at the request of his Holiness, Italian troops will be stationed in Normandy. You may say that the King of Spain has requested you to co-operate with him, and in duty to your own subjects you must protect them from the English pirates; but at the same time you will give the Duke of Alva to understand that France cannot permit England to be conquered by Spain; he may do whatever he may think necessary for the recovery of the stolen money—but you cannot allow him to make a descent upon the English coast.' [1]

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[1] 'N'obmettant pour leur grandeur et reputation, de faire demander au duc d'Alva qu'est-ce qu'il pretend faire contre ceste Reyne et son pays, et la façon comme ils entendent que l'entreprinse soit limitée; en quoy pourront remonstrer que les feuz Roys n'ont jamais voulu permettre qu'on fist conqueste dans ce Royaulme; cognoissans que cela importoit á la seureté de leur, et que comme le feu Empereur fut bien en accord avec le feu Roy Françoys premier qu'il peult bien faire la guerre au Roy Henri huictiesme d'Angleterre pour le recouvrement de Boulogne sans toucher néantmoins ny descendre aulcunement en son Royaulme, que de mesme ilz trouvent bon que le duc d'Alva face tout ce qu'il pourra pour le recouvrement de ses deniers et des prinses, sans

Philip was pouring cold water on the ambition of France, and France was dreading equally the too great success of Alva. The two Governments were still far from the 'accord' which Cecil feared; and if the Hamburgh trade could be carried on safely, and the Catholics at home be controlled, Elizabeth had but to manage France skilfully and she could still afford to despise the intrigues of the Spanish ambassador. Her security and her strength were better understood abroad than at home. While Cecil described himself as almost desperate, Sir Henry Killigrew wrote from Hamburgh in May, in a tone of enthusiastic exultation. 'I think,' he said, 'the Queen's Majesty is more feared and honoured this day, of all countries, what religion soever they be of, than any of her predecessors before her were: I beseech God her Highness do hold fast, and I doubt not but to see in her days the ancient honour and fame of England and Englishmen—how blemished for a time—restored again to the glory of God.'[1]

But could the Catholics be controlled—heated as they had been to boiling point by the hopes held out to them? It depended first on the Queen of Scots, and secondly on the maintenance or the overthrow of Cecil. Could Mary Stuart have parted with her visions of vengeance and revolution, and have accepted honestly the arrangements in her favour which had been concerted between Leicester, Pembroke, Norfolk, Herries, and

qu'il face aussi descente ny entreprinse dans ledict royaulme.'—*Dépêches*, April 20, vol. i. pp. 335, 336.

[1] Sir H. Killigrew to Cecil, Hamburgh, May 25, 1569: *MSS. Hatfield.*

Murray; could Norfolk at the same time have separated himself from his more dangerous associates, and become as loyal as he pretended to be to his mistress; it is likely—it may be called certain—that Elizabeth, in her desire for peace, would in time have given her own consent to the marriage. The French, for their honour's sake, were compelled to press for Mary Stuart's restoration—restoration in some shape and restricted by any conditions, if only they could escape the accusation of having abandoned her to her prison. Her re-establishment as Norfolk's wife and as a member of the Church of England, would have given peace to Scotland, would have restored at once a good understanding between Paris and London, and have quieted the uneasiness of the mass of Elizabeth's subjects. All however depended on the good faith of the principal parties, and of this the signs were ominous. The first act of reconciliation had been played out at Glasgow. Mary Stuart, when she heard that her friends were giving way to the Regent, burst into tears. 'Her lips and face were swollen with weeping. She would eat nothing at supper, but wept as she sat.'[1] Her true mind was fastened upon revenge and triumph. She had hoped that her party in Scotland would have led the way to the universal rising which was to raise her from her prison to a throne. She deplored their cowardice. 'With her authority and theirs, and three quarters of the people at her devotion,' she trusted rather to have heard that they had hurled

[1] Shrewsbury to Cecil, April 8, April 27; *MSS.* Queen of Scots.

Murray out of the country.[1] She wrote herself to upbraid them, and, perplexed as they were among many councils, they submitted to be guided by her. When the second conference came off at Edinburgh, which was to have healed all wounds and opened the way for Maitland's mission to Elizabeth, Chatelherault 'was moved to such repentance that he exclaimed, in tears, he knew no authority but the Queen's.' Huntly and Argyle would agree to nothing; and the assembly broke up in confusion.[2] The Duke of Alva meanwhile had issued Norfolk's proclamation. A copy was sent to England, and inasmuch as Alva charged the Queen with having acted against the advice of the nobility, Cecil, offering a full front to the danger, drew an answer of indignant denial, to which he announced that he would require the council to attach their signatures. A meeting was called for the purpose, at which the leaders of the conspiracy refused to be present. Norfolk was many times summoned, and Arundel also, but they would not attend; and the Queen at last consented, or desired, that the difficulty should be waived and the proclamation be left without reply.[3]

[1] Mary Stuart to La Mothe Fénelon, April — and April 18: LABANOFF, vol. ii.

[2] La Mothe, May 6: *Dépêches*, vol. i.

[3] 'Sicel començo responder con otro Placarte al qual habia ordenado con palabras muy arrogantes; y porque el Duque de Alva dice que estos progresos de la Reyna son contra la voluntad de la mayor parte de los Nobles, Cecil lo queria hacer firmar no solo á los del consejo pero aun á los mas principales del Reyno. El Duque de Norfolk y el Conde de Arundel nunca quisiéron ir al consejo, y les enviáron muchas embajadas los del parte de Sicel; pero al fin la Reyna ha sido contenta que no se responda al Placarte del Duque.'—Don Guerau to Philip, April 23.

Taking courage from Elizabeth's hesitation, Norfolk sent word to Don Guerau that in a few days all would be over. Cecil would be deposed, and the stolen property restored.[1]

After a rapid arrangement with the Bishop of Ross, and after exchanging letters with the Queen of Scots, they made up their minds to do as Norfolk's grandfather had done to Thomas Cromwell. Three times they came down to the council, intending to rise from it with Cecil a prisoner; but three times, as Don Guerau wrote contemptuously to Philip, 'their courage failed; they went to work like Englishmen, who could not act like men of other countries; they excused themselves by saying that so many of the council had dipped their hands in Spanish plunder that they could not count upon support; but, in fact, they were poor-spirited. Like Englishmen, they would have things well done, but they would leave the doing of them to his Majesty, without risk or trouble to themselves; and then they would give his Majesty their *thanks*.'[3]

They were in debt too, all of them—Norfolk, Arun-

[1] 'Dicen el Duque y el Conde que dentro de breves dias ellos harán que la Reyna haga lo que debe, y mudarán al gobierno.'—Ibid.

[2] Don Guerau, in a history of the whole proceedings which he sent to Philip on the 15th of June, says expressly, 'que lo escribian á la Reyna de Escocia.' He fixes the time at which they wrote as the last week in April, and it must have been therefore to this communication that Mary Stuart alluded in a letter of the 28th of April to Argyle, urging him to consent to nothing at Edinburgh, and more distinctly in a letter of the 5th of May to Chatelherault, in which she says, 'Fear not upon my word. Bide constant and ye shall have that ye desire of one part or the other. Shortly ye shall hear more.'—LABANOFF, vol. ii.

[3] Don Guerau to Philip, June 15.

del, and Lord Lumley, another of the same set. They pretended that they were without money for so great an enterprise. They desired Alva to supply them before they began, and they offered to give him bonds for repayment. Don Guerau said that they must earn their wages before they received them; his master could not throw away his money without an equivalent. As they would not move without it, and seemed to catch at the excuse, he so far yielded at last that he procured 5000*l.* for them; but time was wasted in the interval, and before it arrived, Cecil, with extreme address, had discovered and disconcerted the plot. He was perhaps ignorant that Norfolk had meditated anything beyond an alteration in the public policy of the country. He supposed that the Duke was not wholly insincere in professing to be a Protestant. He frankly went to him, and declared that he himself had no end in view in the course which he had pursued, except what he believed to be the interest of his country; if the Duke and Arundel disapproved of the attitude which had been assumed towards Spain, he said that they might go, both of them, to Madrid, and take powers with them to arrange the dispute as they might think best with Philip. For himself he wished for nothing but some general settlement, by which Catholic and Protestant could be assured their natural liberty, and in which Scotland, France, and Flanders could be all included.

May. These proposals alone might not have been effectual. The mission to Spain in no way met the Duke of Norfolk's wishes; indeed, after the recent

fate of Count Montigny,[1] it might not seem altogether safe.[2] But Cecil had another argument, which the Duke, a poor, mean creature, crippled with debt and hungry for money, was in no condition to resist. The great cause of the Dacres estates was coming on before the Court of Chancery. If Norfolk could carry his point, he would not only secure the heiresses for his sons, but the administration of the whole vast property during their minority. Cecil promised the influence of the Government on his side, and thus succeeded for a time in separating him from the rest of his party. The intended revolution had brought up from the country Leonard Dacres himself, Lord Montague, the Earl of Cumberland, and other Catholic knights and gentlemen. The Bishop of Ross hurried up from Wingfield, all eager to be present at the arrest of Cecil.[3] Montague and Cumberland were Dacres' brothers-in-law, and devoted to his interests. They arrived only to find a litigation in process, by which one of the few remaining noble families of the old blood was to be sacrificed to the Duke

[1] Sent on an embassy from the Low Countries to Philip and privately put to death at Simancas.

[2] 'Y despues tambien salió vana la determinacion de enviar á España, lo qual estos Señores me lo hacian saber con confusion sin declararme la del todo, y pusó el mismo inconvenientes despues, diciendoles que si iban por ventura los detendrian en España, y assi esto tanpoco hubó efecto.'—Don Guerau to Philip, June 15.

[3] 'Estos caballeros daban parte del dicho negocio á la Serenissima Reyna de Escocia y para aquellos dias que ellos habian señalado hicieron venir aqui al Obispo de Ross, para que se hallase en la detention de Cecil que ellos pensaban hacer. Tambien sabian dello Milord Montague y el Conde de Cumberland y otros Catolicos que para aquel effecto vinieron aqui.'—Don Guerau to Philip, June 15.

of Norfolk's covetousness, and the Duke himself accepting the support of the minister whose destruction they had been invited to witness.

Violent differences among themselves, a more complete separation of the Catholics from Norfolk, and the suspension at the same time of immediate action, were the necessary consequences. The Duke fell back upon Leicester and Pembroke, and the marriage with the Queen of Scots in the Protestant interest. He even ventured to mention the subject to Cecil, who listened with silence, but with no positive disapproval.

Meanwhile Elizabeth, ignorant as yet that the project was revived, was only anxious to rid the kingdom and herself of her dangerous prisoner. She did not mean to sacrifice her own peace for the convenience of Scotland. Except for the promises with which she had entangled herself towards Murray, she would have extorted conditions which would have been sufficient for her own security, and have sent her back with a high hand. As time went on, and as the inconvenience of her presence became felt more sensibly, these conditions became increasingly lighter. Having resolved not to disgrace her, the Queen was being driven to act towards her as if her innocence had been proved. Many papers remain in Cecil's hand indicating both his own and Elizabeth's uncertainty, and the desire of both of them to be quit of her almost on any terms. Three alternatives were offered to the Bishop of Ross at the end of April. Either the Queen of Scots might recognize the existing Government in Scotland, with a security that if the

Prince died she should resume the crown; or she might reign jointly with the Prince, the administration remaining in the hands of Murray and the present council; or, lastly, if she would consent to neither of these conditions, she might be again sole Queen, if she would give sufficient securities for her future behaviour. She must consent to the maintenance of the religion established in Scotland, 'declaring the Crown of Scotland as free from the foreign jurisdiction of Rome as the Crown of England.' If she could not herself join the Scotch communion, she might be a member of the Church of England, as she had already professed her willingness to be.[1] Some trustworthy person—if possible the Earl of Murray, 'as there was none so meet in all Scotland'—would have to continue in the Regency. The forfeitures on all sides should be declared void, and the Queen of Scots must ratify, if not the whole treaty of Leith, yet so much of it as touched the rights of Elizabeth herself. The Scotch Parliament must undertake that the conditions should be observed, and if they were violated by Mary Stuart herself, she was to be understood to have *ipso facto* forfeited her crown.[2]

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[1] Mary Stuart had been careful to keep up the hopes of her possible conversion among those about her, although to Catholics English and foreign she always insisted on her orthodoxy. It is frightful to think what she must have suffered. 'My Lord of Shrewsbury,' writes Sir Thomas Gargrave on the 3rd of April, 'hath provided that the said Queen hath heard weekly all this Lent three sermons—every Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday one—wherein she hath been very well persuaded to the reading of Scriptures, and she is, as I am advertised, very attentive at the sermons, and doth not lose one.'—*Cotton. MSS.* CALIG. B. ix. fol. 383.

[2] Consideration of the matters of

These offers were submitted to the Queen of Scots at various intervals and accompanied by language which Elizabeth would have done better to have left unspoken. 'She is careful of your Majesty's welfare,' the Bishop of Ross told his mistress, 'and nothing content of your subjects who are declined from your obedience: she says your rebels in Scotland are not worthy to live: I perceive your good sister and all the nobility here be more careful of your honour, weal, and advancement than I ever perceived them before.'[1]

The difficulty was the treaty of Leith. The ratification was the price which the Queen of Scots had all along determined to pay for the recognition of her place in the succession. The Bishop told Elizabeth that she would submit the question to the King of Spain; if Philip decided against her she would yield. That a proposal so preposterous should have been brought forward at all showed the measure of her confidence. She believed Elizabeth was a fool, on whom she might play as upon an instrument.

As Elizabeth was obstinate, she thought that a sudden illness might produce an effect upon her; and writing to La Mothe Fénelon to present a sharp demand for her release, she professed to be seized with symptoms of the same disorder which had so nearly killed her at Jedburgh.[2] They were harmless, being the result

the Queen of Scots, May 1, 1569; In Cecil's hand: *Cotton. MSS.* CALIG. C. i.

[1] The Bishop of Ross to Mary Stuart, May 2: *MSS.* QUEEN OF SCOTS.

[2] Mary Stuart to the Bishop of Ross and La Mothe, May 10: LABANOFF, vol. ii.

merely of pills, but she had calculated justly on the alarm of the Queen of England, who dreaded nothing so much as any serious illness of her prisoner which the world would attribute to poison.[1] Cecil and Bacon did their utmost to modify their mistress's anxiety, but the stream was too strong for them. In one way or the other she was determined to wash her hands of the nuisance which was clinging to them. She told the Bishop of Ross that 'she could not of her honour nor friendly and loving duty suffer the Queen her good sister to perish without help:' the resignation at Lochleven had been extorted by force, and should be treated as if it had no existence. If she would not ratify the treaty of Leith, it should not be insisted on; if Murray's Regency was unpalatable to her, it might be terminated: she must promise only a general amnesty, and undertake to be guided for the future by a council of State which could be selected by a commission out of the nobility. If she preferred to remain a Catholic, she need only tolerate the Reformed religion, and agree generally to such stipulations as should be considered necessary by the Queen of England and the Peers 'for the security of her Highness's person and the weal of both realms.'[2]

It appeared as if Leicester and Pembroke had been right in their fears, and as if their mistress, in her eagerness to be quit of the Queen of June.

[1] 'La dolencia de la Reyna de Escocia fué fingida para mover al animo de esta Reyna, y habia hecho buen efecto con ella segun el obispo me dice.' — Don Guerau to Alva, June 1.

[2] Articles delivered to the Bishop of Ross at the Queen Majesty of England's commandment, May —, 1569: *MSS.* QUEEN OF SCOTS.

Scots, would set her at liberty at last without any conditions at all. With such an impression of her character they might well think that to marry Mary Stuart to some loyal English nobleman was the wisest course which could be pursued. Finding the Queen in such a humour, the council held a secret meeting without her knowledge. Cecil probably was present, for the report of the proceedings is endorsed in his hand. They sent for the Bishop of Ross, and desired him to submit to the Queen of Scots the following questions:—

1. Whether she would wholly refer herself and her cause to the Queen of England?

2. Whether she would satisfy and assure the Queen's Majesty in all things concerning her title to the crown?

3. Whether she would cause the same religion professed in England to be established in Scotland by Parliament?

4. Whether the league between Scotland and France should be dissolved, and an assured perpetual league be made between England and Scotland?

5. Whether touching her marriage with the Duke of Norfolk, which had been moved by the Earl of Murray and Lidington, she would wholly refer herself to the Queen's Majesty, and therein do as she would have her, and as her Majesty did like thereof—willing that all things should be done for her Majesty's surety which might be best devised by the whole council?[1]

These inquiries were conceived in a spirit of un-

[1] Heads and articles of certain conferences had with some of the nobility of England, June, 1569 *MSS.* QUEEN OF SCOTS.

doubted loyalty to Elizabeth. The mind by which they were composed—it was probably Cecil's own—was truer to her than her present humour allowed her to be to herself.

The Queen of Scots was contemplating a future considerably different from what was thus marked out for her, and Elizabeth's evident weakness encouraged her most sanguine anticipations. But she knew Elizabeth to be changeable. The approaches which were here made to her came from those who had been most keenly opposed to her restoration in any form. Could she gain their confidence or neutralize their opposition, she could feel assured that her imprisonment would soon be at an end. Norfolk's own honour would require that she should be replaced on her throne before the marriage could take place; and any promises either to him or to others might be interpreted as having been made in confinement, and therefore as of no obligation. She might either accept Norfolk then—and she knew that he would be as clay in her hands—or she might throw herself upon Philip and take Don John, or, if Philip refused, she might tempt Catherine de Medici to give her another of her sons. The Queen of Scots never threw a chance away or refused an offered hand.

To the two first questions she replied with unreserved acquiescence.

For the third she referred to her original instructions to her commissioners, which also were entirely satisfactory.

About the league she consented also. She professed

herself willing to unite with England and to separate from France.

To the fifth, which concerned her marriage, she returned the following remarkable answer :—

'My fortune,' she said, 'has been so evil in the progress of my life, and specially in my marriages, as hardly I can be brought to have any mind to like of an husband—but rather by a simple and solitary life to give testimony by my continent behaviour to all those who might put doubt therein. The troubles passed have so weakened the state of my body, as I cannot think any certainty of my continuance; and thus neither shall I receive thereby after so many storms any felicity, nor should I leave him that I should marry in so good estate as he now is. Nevertheless, being resolved of certain doubts which occur to me from the trust I have in the Queen my good sister, and her nobility's friendship towards me, as also from the goodwill I perceive my Lord of Norfolk bears towards me, hearing him so well reported abroad, I will wholly follow their counsel, not doubting but as I trust them herein, being in the greatest matter that can appertain to myself, they will have consideration of my causes as of her that wholly committeth herself into their hands. Though not to boast myself, yet because they might somewhat the better think of my true meaning to the Queen my good sister, as also of my good affection to those of the nobility and the realm to which I count not myself a stranger, I assure you that if either men or money to have reduced my rebels to their due obedience

could have ticed me, I would have been provided of a husband ere now. But I, seeking which way to please my good sister and them here, did never give ear to any such offer. Now this I make account to myself, that if I should marry with my Lord of Norfolk I am sure to lose all my friends beyond the seas, as France and Spain and all other Catholic princes. This is the greatest loss that I could lose. In recompense whereof if I do by following of her counsel take this hurt, what friendship therefore shall I win in the stead to be sure to me? If I should give my consent to my Lord of Norfolk in this behalf, I would know how my good sister's will and consent may be had to the same. Pray, my Lords, to bear with me though I cast some doubt therein, considering how unwilling I have found her to have me bestowed in marriage before, as I am sure themselves know.

'I would in this cause have as much consideration of him that should be my husband as I would have of myself. I would be loath to bring him, who now I know has as much felicity and contentation as any nobleman of his calling can desire, to a worse estate; and therefore I would be glad to know not only if my good sister would like thereof, but also how friendly those of the nobility would deal with him, that he might not be with his sovereign Princess and countrymen as my late husband the Lord Darnley was, which I to my grief did then find, and I would be sorry to enter into the alliance whereof I was well warned.'[1]

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[1] Answer of the Queen of Scots: *MSS. Rolls House.*

The part was well played, the tone assumed throughout the answer was exactly pitched to please the council. It was graceful, dignified, self-respecting, and on the points of substantial concession left nothing to be desired. The next step would naturally have been to consult Elizabeth; but there was a latent feeling among the lords that the proposal would not be welcome if it came from themselves. They preferred to have it opened by Murray, and they waited impatiently for the coming of Maitland, whom Elizabeth herself appeared to expect.

But Murray, as well as they, had his own grounds for hesitation. In explaining his conduct afterwards to Cecil, he said, that 'if the Queen, as she had led him to expect, had pronounced a decisive judgment at Hampton Court, he would have listened to no overtures from the Duke of Norfolk at all. But seeing her Highness so earnestly travelling for his sister's restoration, he could not think it profitable to lose the benevolence of such as seemed bent that way.' 'The Queen had been so strange and uncertain, that she had given him matter enough to think the marriage might be the thing which she most desired.'[1] But, like the lords, he shrunk from speaking of it till he knew how it was likely to be taken. And he had another difficulty. Norfolk desired that the restoration should precede the marriage, as if to clear the Queen of Scots' reputation. Murray's caution made him prefer that she should be

[1] Murray to Cecil, October 29; Murray to Elizabeth, October 29: *MSS. Scotland.*

safely married first. According to Norfolk, the first step should be a request from Murray and his friends for his sister's release. Murray, to whom neither the marriage nor the restoration was welcome in itself, knew his sister too well to take her back till her hands were tied. His part was in every way a most difficult one; but, on the whole, he preferred to act as if these secret intrigues had no existence, and, at all events, as long as he was Regent of Scotland he resolved to do his own duty there. On the failure of the conference at Edinburgh, Huntly proclaimed Mary Stuart in the north of Scotland, Lord Fleming held Dumbarton in her name, and Argyle refused to acknowledge the King's government. The Regent, to secure Edinburgh, sent Chatelherault and Herries to the Castle, and prepared to take the field. The rumour that the Queen was coming back had been circulated everywhere with the worst effects. As a prelude to active measures he issued a proclamation containing a true account of the results of the investigation at Hampton Court. He said that he had been called before the Queen of England to answer to a charge of high treason. After diligent trial it was found and declared that he and the noblemen who had acted with him had done nothing 'which did not become honest and faithful subjects of their bounden duty for the appeasing of God's wrath and for the common weal of their native country.' 'The charges against them had been dismissed, and his own government willed to continue.' 'He had been compelled to manifest and declare the truth that the

King's mother had been participant in the murder of her husband.' He had been challenged to prove his words before the Queen of England and her whole estate, and the accusation 'was sufficiently verified, and by the Queen's handwrit notoriously proven.'[1]

Whatever might be Elizabeth's displeasure, Murray could not afford that the truth should be concealed. In the use of the words the 'King's mother,' he intimated that to him Mary Stuart was as yet no more than a private person, and with this distinct declaration he set out on his expedition against the Gordons. It was exactly at the time when Elizabeth's irritation and impetuosity, aggravated by the pretended illness of the Queen of Scots, had reached their highest point. She had already sent to him a sketch of the terms on which she considered that a restoration could be effected. The proclamation came back to her as a sort of defiance. As the Regent was on his way to Aberdeen he was overtaken by a messenger whom she had despatched to tell him that she would wait no longer: she insisted upon an immediate answer, whether he would or would not receive back his Sovereign on those conditions.

A demand at once so serious and so peremptory took Murray by surprise. The restoration might be necessary; but in any way it appeared undesirable to proceed with it precipitately. He suspected that it was connected with the Norfolk marriage; but whether Elizabeth desired it or feared it, he could not tell. He thanked her

[1] Copy of a proclamation set out by the Earl Murray in Scotland, May 13: *MSS. Scotland, Rolls House.*

'for having communicated so weighty a matter privately to him, rather than by open dealing to have endangered both the State and him.'[1] He wrote to Cecil that he could not answer on the spot. He would make as much haste as the gravity of the matter would permit. 'What was good for the Queen of England was good for Scotland; and however dangerous it might seem, he thought himself debt-bound to accept it.'[2] But he must consult his friends, and the Queen should learn their decision on his return from the North.

The journey, so far as concerned its immediate object, was eminently successful. July. Huntly offered no resistance. Argyle promised to do as Huntly did. The mere display of force brought present quiet; but Elizabeth, in her existing humour, was only the more exasperated. When there was a question of receiving back a deposed Sovereign, a meeting of the nobles was no unreasonable preliminary; but her impatience could ill endure even the few days' delay which it required. She wrote again to Murray, saying she was surprised that he should have hesitated for a moment in gratifying her desire. She 'had thought it convenient therefore to admonish him.' 'She wished him to think that the protracting of time to consider such weighty causes might prove so disadvantageous, that he would himself be sorry to have pretermitted the opportunity which she had offered him.'[3]

[1] Murray to Elizabeth, June 5: *MSS. Scotland.*
[2] Murray to Cecil.—Ibid.
[3] Elizabeth to Murray, July 17: *MSS. Scotland.*

In other words, notwithstanding the promises by which she had tempted Murray to produce the Queen of Scots' letters, she was positively determined to send her back again, whether her subjects desired it, or consented to it, or refused to hear of it. Entirely at a loss to understand her conduct, but resolute not to yield till he saw his way, Murray wrote for information to Norfolk. The letter is lost, but Norfolk's answer survives, and is a singular tribute to the good faith with which Murray was acting and had acted throughout. The Duke told him that he regarded him 'not only as a faithful friend, but as a natural brother;' that he was as careful 'of Murray's welfare as of his own honour.' He wrote, he said, in the Queen of Scots' name as well as his own. Lord Boyd, the bearer of the letter, had seen the Queen of Scots, and was empowered by her 'to resolve him in all doubts.' As to the marriage, 'he had proceeded so far in it that he could not with conscience revoke what he had done;' 'but it was impossible for him to go forward till Murray had removed the stumblingblocks which were an impeachment to their apparent proceedings.' 'That must be done first, and all the rest would then follow, to Murray's ease and comfort.' 'The union of the Island in one kingdom in times coming, and the maintenance of God's true religion'—these were the objects to be secured, and there were many enemies, who would imperil, if they could, so great a purpose. He recommended Murray therefore to recall the Queen immediately, and make haste

to have her formally divorced from the Earl of Bothwell.[1]

How Murray might have been influenced by Norfolk's arguments had they been left to work upon him alone, it is hard to say; but two fresh incidents occurred to confirm his uncertainty. One was the capture of French Paris, who was kidnapped in Denmark, brought first to Leith, and then to Aberdeen. There he had been examined by Buchanan during the northern expedition. His depositions had revived the recollection of the more atrocious features of the murder of Darnley. He mentioned circumstances which would have aggravated, had aggravation been possible, the hatefulness of Mary Stuart's treachery, and made the thought of her return more vividly intolerable. The other was a commission, which Mary Stuart herself had issued, for the furtherance of her suit of divorce. She had described herself in the preamble as Queen of Scotland, with all her styles and titles; and while to the English council she was undertaking to maintain the Reformed religion, while Norfolk was innocently writing to Murray of the advantages to be expected from her restoration 'to the service of God,' she had the imprudence to style the Catholic Archbishop of St Andrews the supreme ruler of the Church of Scotland.

Mary Stuart lacked the skill to subdue herself in her moments of elation, and wear her modest veil till it was time to throw it off. Maitland was seriously

[1] Norfolk to Murray, July 31: *Burghley Papers*, vol. i.

compromised by Paris; he was seen to have had his hand deeper than Murray knew in the tragedy of Kirk o' Field. Confidence in him and in his scheming had become impossible; and with the darkness all around him, and with such dangerous lights at times breaking from it, the Regent was proof against Norfolk's blandishments and Elizabeth's commands. He could but fall at the worst, and it was better to fall nobly at his post and in his duty to Scotland, than start aside into crooked ways and stultify all that he had done.

He called about him the small gallant knot of men who had stood by the Reformation through good and evil. The Earls of Mar, Glencairn, and Morton, the Master of Montrose, Lords Semple, Ruthven, and Oliphant, met him at Perth, at the end of July. He would not allow Mary Stuart to plead that he had packed his convention. He invited Huntly, Athol, and Maitland, and they thought it prudent to attend. Ten earls, fifteen lords, five bishops, and commissioners of the Commons from every town in Scotland, came at his summons to consider Elizabeth's demands. They decided with a preponderance of voices before which the secret dissentients were forced to be silent, that, although, if it could be done with security to themselves and to him, they were ready to receive the late Queen among them as a private person, they considered her return to the throne, either alone or in conjunction with her son, as 'so prejudicial to the State, and so dangerous for the unquieting of the whole Isle, that they would in no wise consent to it.' 'The petition for the

divorcement was utterly rejected.' The reading of Mary Stuart's commission was received with an uproar which Maitland in vain endeavoured to allay; and 'it was declared treason to reason for the future for the Queen's authority.'[1]

Elizabeth received the resolution of the convention with an anger which she did not care to conceal. Then, as always, when she was alarmed for her own comfort, she saw in Mary Stuart an injured Sovereign, and in Murray a disobedient traitor. Then, as always, she was unable to remember that the Scots were no subjects of hers. She dismissed the bearer of the message upon the spot, bidding him go back and say to the Regent, that he must consider better of his proceedings, and as he meant to have the continuance of her favour, he must satisfy her speedily in some more substantial manner. 'Otherwise,' she wrote to Murray herself, 'you shall occasion us, without any further delay, to proceed of ourselves to make such a determination with the Queen of Scots as we shall find honourable and meet for ourselves; and in so doing, considering we perceive by your manner of dealing you only respect yourself and no other party, we doubt how you will like it: and then, though you shall afterwards yield to more conformity, it may prove too late and not recoverable by repentance.'[2]

A few days after a report came that Murray was preparing to recover Dumbarton, and to August.

[1] Hunsdon to Cecil, August 5: *MSS. Scotland.*

[2] Elizabeth to Murray, August 12: *MSS. Scotland.*

take fresh steps to coerce the recusant Borderers. Elizabeth followed up her first message by a second, 'that she would not allow such doings,' and unless she received some immediate satisfactory answer to her last letter, 'she would be occasioned to proceed in such sort without him as percase he should find too much against him, and the fault thereof to proceed only from himself and none other.'[1] She sent orders to Lord Scrope, if Murray attempted anything against the Border gentlemen, to receive and protect them. In her letter she called Mary Stuart Queen, and the Lords her subjects.[2]

A few weeks later Elizabeth found occasion to change her tone. Murray had then become again the saviour of his country, and Mary Stuart and the Borderers the enemies of her and mankind. It was her misfortune that while she could hesitate indefinitely when action was immediately necessary, the 'perturbations of her mind,' as Knowles called them, at other times swayed her into extremes, and she allowed sudden alarms and sudden provocations to tempt her to the most ill-judged precipitancy. Her violent moods were happily of brief duration. Her present excitement arose partly from a belief that the Huguenots had been crushed at Jarnac, partly from the irritation into which she was thrown by hearing gradually of the scheme for the Norfolk marriage. The defiant attitude however which Coligny was still able

[1] Elizabeth to Murray, August 20: *MSS. Scotland.*

[2] Elizabeth to Scrope, August 29: *MSS. Border.*

to maintain reassured her about her danger from France. The western gentlemen, when they were forbidden to cruise any longer under the Huguenot flag, petitioned in a body for leave to serve in France under the Admiral, and Lord Huntingdon asked permission to sell his estate and join the Huguenot army with 10,000 men.[1] The national enmity against France was at all times blown easily into flame, and whatever might be the feelings of the Queen and the nobles, the English Commons in this period of growing Puritanism identified themselves heart and soul with their struggling brothers. 'The war party,' La Mothe was forced to confess, 'had more life and energy in them than their opponents.'[2] Although there might be differences about religion in England, all parties united in their desire to recover Calais. The Catholics believed that if England and France were at war, Philip would be compelled to strike in upon Elizabeth's side. The Spanish quarrel would be made up, and the Catholic King would recover the natural influence of an active ally. 30,000*l.* were sent over to the Admiral, and La Mothe believed that it had been supplied by the Treasury. Elizabeth, when he complained, replied, that if it was so, her coffers must be like the widow's cruise, for no money was missing from them. He discovered that it had been raised by subscription in the western counties among

[1] 'El Conde de Huntingdon fué á pedir licencia á la Reyna para vender su estado y hacer diez mill hombres y juntarse con el Almirante.'—Don Guerau to Philip: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] 'Ils ont trop plus de vivacité et d'entreprinse que les aultres.'—La Mothe au Roy, June 21: *Dépêches*, vol. i.

the owners of the privateers,[1] who had grown rich upon their pillage.

It is easy to see how great must have been the confusion when a Protestant crusade was being encouraged by Catholics and semi-Catholics. These movements were but eddies in the main stream of tendency; but the spirit of her people restored the Queen to her self-possession, while on the other great subject of her uneasiness she was now to learn that she could have done nothing more fatal to herself than act upon her threats to Murray.

In their first disgust at their apparent abandonment by Norfolk, the more earnest Catholics had attached themselves to Leonard Dacres and his friends. The Duke's marriage with the Queen of Scots as concerted at present by the Protestant section of the council promised nothing to the cause of religion. It was rather likely to be accompanied with a firmer establishment of the Reformation in both countries. To this most important condition they could not be ignorant that the Queen of Scots had consented. They did not yet know how lightly such engagements could sit upon her, and they distrusted the feebleness and selfishness of Norfolk's character. To them therefore there appeared but one road open—to avail themselves of the Spanish quarrel before it should be made up, with the quasi sanction which they had received from Philip, and to rise in open rebellion. The Earls of Cumberland,

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[1] La Mothe au Roy, July 27: *Dépêches*, vol. i.

Westmoreland, Northumberland, and Leicester, Leonard Dacres himself, Montague, Lumley, and many others, intimated to Don Guerau that they were prepared to take arms. Lord Derby they expected would join them. Lord Shrewsbury would be with them in heart, and Lord Talbot, his eldest son, was in their confidence. They proposed to raise the whole North by a sudden simultaneous movement, set the Queen of Scots at liberty, proclaim her Queen of England, and re-establish the Catholic religion. They would decide after their victory what to do with Elizabeth and her ministers. The more troublesome of the bishops they would send over to Flanders for Alva, to be disposed of, perhaps, in the Great Square at Brussels.[1] The Queen of Scots might marry whom she herself pleased or whomsoever the King of Spain might suggest.

To Mary Stuart herself such an alternative was simply delightful. She had never pretended to Don Guerau that she looked on her marriage with Norfolk with anything but distaste. Her ambition aspired to a Spanish prince at the lowest, and believing that the ambassador shared her own desire, she sent the Bishop of Ross to him to explain away her acquiescence in the propositions of the council as forced upon her by a hard necessity.[2]

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[1] 'Dicen que dos ó tres obispos que les hacen embarazo les prenderan y enviaran á Flandes al Duque de Alva.'—Don Guerau to Philip, July 5: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] 'En cuyo nombre me dixó el obispo que ella es muy importunada del casamiento del Duque de Norfolk, y casi necessitada á hacerlo por valerse de su ayuda y cobrar su Reyno.'—Don Guerau to Alva, August —: *MSS. Simancas.*

The experience of English revolutions in past centuries might seem to justify the confidence of the Northern earls. A coalition less powerful and without the addition of religious enthusiasm had placed Henry of Lancaster on the throne of Richard II. Edward IV., when he landed at Ravenspurg, and Elizabeth's grandfather before Bosworth field, had fainter grounds to anticipate success than the party who was now preparing to snatch England out of the hands of revolution and restore the ancient order in Church and State. Don Guerau however imagined that for some unknown reason the English had grown fainter-hearted than their forefathers, and he believed that policy might effect more than force. He was conscious of the danger of disunion. He felt the extreme desirableness of bringing Norfolk and his father-in-law Arundel again into coalition with the more determined Catholics, and he probably knew that for many reasons—from jealousy of his brother as well as aversion to the lady herself, Philip would never consent to give Don John to Mary Stuart. The uncertainty whether Elizabeth would allow Norfolk to have her brought the fickle Duke back to Don Guerau. He explained to the ambassador the project of the council, but he gave him to understand also that if the marriage could be brought about he would use whatever power he obtained by it, not in the interests of the Reformation, as he had pretended to Murray, but in the interests of the Catholic Church. He desired Don Guerau to consult Philip and try to obtain his approval. Evidently, also, with Don Guerau's

help he wished to recover the support of the Catholics, that if he failed to obtain his end in one way he might fall back upon the other. He carried Arundel with him, and Arundel and Norfolk, besides their feudal command of the entire Eastern Counties, were the natural chiefs to whom the great English families south of the Trent all looked for leadership. Don Guerau, knowing Norfolk's temper, believed seriously that he was the most desirable husband for Mary Stuart which Spanish or Catholic interests could desire. He recommended Philip to sanction the marriage.[1] He laboured to reconcile the Northern lords to the prospect of it.[2] He commended their zeal, advised them to hold themselves in readiness to rise if an insurrection should prove necessary, and encouraged them with all but direct promises of assistance from Alva. If the Queen could be so far blinded as to allow the marriage to take place, they would obtain all that they desired without being obliged to fight for it. If she proved too wary to be caught, they could fall back upon force at the last mo-

[1] 'Pienso que es mejor que se haga con voluntad de V. M^d^ que no se podrá sacar dello á mi parescer sino gran fruto.'—Don Guerau to Philip, August 27: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] They consented with great reluctance. The Queen of Scots sent John Leveson to consult the Earl of Northumberland. 'I opened my opinion unto him,' the Earl said afterwards; 'how much it was misliked, not only with me but with sundry others, that she should bestow herself in marriage with the Duke, for that he was counted to be a Protestant; and if she ever looked to recover her estate it must be by advancing and maintaining the Catholic faith, for there ought to be no halting in those matters; and if the Duke was a sound Catholic, I would be as glad of that match as any other.'—Confession of the Earl of Northumberland, June, 1572: *MSS. Border.*

ment, and with the added strength from the adhesion of the Duke, they could make their success a certainty.

It was fortunate for Elizabeth that to this conspiracy the failure of the Hamburgh expedition had not to be added. Half a year's produce of the English looms had been consigned to that one adventure, and had Alva intercepted the fleet, or had the market proved unfavourable, the effect might have been as serious as Don Guerau anticipated. Happily however success had waited upon the attempt both by land and sea. Not a sail was missing of the flight of white-winged traders which swept through the North Sea. Not a bale of goods was left unsold, so many eager buyers had been set upon the watch by Killigrew. The ruin of trade at least the great citizens of London saw no reason to anticipate. They might pillage Spain with impunity, and sell their wares at a profit trebled and quadrupled by the ruin in which Alva had involved the industry of the unhappy Netherlands.

The political danger Cecil thoroughly comprehended in its general bearings; and though unaware of Norfolk's treachery, he understood his character too well not to suspect him. The musters were called out in the South-western and Midland Counties, and the officers were chosen from among those who were best affected to the Queen. As to the marriage, the genuine Protestants were instinctively opposed to it. The Earl of Huntingdon held meetings at his house to concert measures to prevent an alliance which they felt would be ruinous to

them. Lord Hunsdon opposed it urgently by letters.[1] Bedford and Bacon were of the same opinion; while Clinton and Sir Francis Knowles cautioned Norfolk himself against Spanish friendship. Doctor Samson, whom Don Guerau called 'the most pernicious heretic in England,' addressed the Duke 'as if he was an apostle of God,' and commanded him to think no more of the Queen of Scots.

Sussex, on the other hand, was going with Pembroke and Leicester. They could not yet venture to speak to Elizabeth openly about it, but they approached the subject on many sides indirectly. They harped incessantly upon the danger of keeping the Queen of Scots in England. They told her she must either put her out of the way, which they knew she would not do,[2] or send her back to Scotland. Leicester and Norfolk played into each other's hands; one telling the Queen she was nursing a serpent at her bosom—the other replying that since the serpent was indisputably heir to the crown, she could be rendered harmless only by being married to an Englishman.[3] Indisputably heir to the crown—that was the fact from which Elizabeth could not extricate herself. It would have been easy for her

[1] 'I think you are not ignorant of my opinion of that marriage. I love and honour the Duke so well as I would be right sorry it should take place, for any matter or reason I can yet conclude.'—Hunsdon to Cecil, August 30: *MSS. Border.*

[2] La Mothe Fénelon au Roy, July 27: *Dépêches*, vol. ii.

[3] 'El Duque le respondió que á él le parecia el derecho de la Reyna de Escocia ser sin question y que tambien le pareceria conveniente que la Reyna de Escocia se casase en Inglaterra para que en esta parte se remitiria al parecer de su Mag^d.'—Don Guerau to Philip, August 2; *MSS. Simancas.*

to have said at Hampton Court in the past winter, This woman is a murderess; I have proof against her in her own hand; I will fall back on my father's will, I will appeal to Parliament to help me; she is unfit to reign and shall be no successor of mine. But she had not said this; she had evaded the plain issue, and now had no fair excuse with which to protect herself, when Mary Stuart was again openly spoken of as standing next for the throne.[1] Very angrily she complained that the lords were setting up Absalom against David. She said she would marry—marry Leicester perhaps to be rid of her vexation,[2] or marry the Archduke if he was still

[1] 'Esta Reyna entiende como todos los del Reyno vuelven los ojos á la de Escocia, y que ya no lo disimulan, antes la van mirando ó casi reputando como sucesora della.'—Don Guerau to Philip, July 25.

[2] Norfolk and Arundel were cheating Leicester with the hope that if the Scotch affair could be settled for the Duke, he and the Queen might marry. Don Guerau wrote on the 6th of September: 'Tambien parece que el Conde de Leicester, con esperança que el Duque de Norfolk y sus amigos le han dado de sustentar en el grado que esta, y aun consentir que se case con esta Reyna, hace la parte del dicho Duque.' Compare La Mothe to the King of France, July 27. The old stories were still current about Leicester's intimacy with Elizabeth. La Mothe says that Norfolk, at Arundel's suggestion, remonstrated with Leicester about it. If the Queen wished to marry him, Norfolk said, she should avow it openly, and he and his friends would countenance it—otherwise, he said, that the Queen's honour would suffer, 'et le taxa de ce qu'ayant l'entrée comme il a dans la chambre de la Reyne, lorsqu'elle est au lict il s'estoit ingeré de luy bailler la chemise au lieu de sa dame d'honneur, et de s'hazarder de luy mesme de la baisser sans y estre convyé.'

Leicester answered, 'qu'à la vérité la Reyne luy avoit monstré quelque bonne affection, que l'avoit mis en esperance de la pouvoir espouser, y d'oser ainsy user de quelque honneste privaulté envers elle.' He said he would endeavour to bring matters to a crisis. If the Queen made up her mind not to marry him he would discontinue so close an intimacy with her. 'Et quoy que ce

attainable. Still the stream ran so violently that on the 27th of August a vote was carried in full council for the settlement of the succession by the marriage of the Queen of Scots to some English nobleman; and many peers, according to Don Guerau 'the greatest in the land,'[1] set their hands to a bond to stand by Norfolk in carrying the resolution into effect. Leonard Dacres and Lord Northumberland had concerted a plan to carry off the Queen of Scots from Wingfield. Dacres had seen her and arranged the details with her. Norfolk however was so confident of success through the council that he thought violent measures unnecessary. The Queen of Scots sent to ask him what he would do if Elizabeth refused to let him marry her. He said she dared not refuse, for all the Peers, except a very few, were determined to have it so.[2]

He and his friends had delayed their formal application for Elizabeth's consent till the arrival of Maitland; but of Maitland's coming there was no longer a prospect. Maitland, after the breaking up of the Perth convention, called a meeting of Mary Stuart's supporters at Blair Athol; on his return to Edinburgh he was arrested by Murray on the charge of being an accomplice in Darnley's murder, and was shut up in the Castle with Herries and Chatelherault.

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fist qu'il avoit la mesme obligation à l'honneur de la Reyne et à celle de sa couronne que ung bon vassal et conseiller doibte avoir, et que en toutes sortes il contoit plus soigneusement conserver que sa propre vie.'

[1] 'Los mas principales desta Isla.' Don Guerau to Philip, August 27: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] Confession of the Bishop of Ross: MURDIN.

The vote of council made further procrastination impossible. Elizabeth was going on progress. Before the Court broke up a meeting was held in the Earl of Pembroke's rooms at Greenwich Palace, and Norfolk proposed that the whole party who were present should wait upon her in a body and make known their wishes.[1] In talking to Don Guerau the Duke was 'as a lion;' at the prospect of facing his mistress he became 'a hare,'[2] and wished to be backed up by the presence of his friends. But the lords shared his alarms, and neither of them cared to encounter the wrath which would assuredly burst upon their heads. Leicester said, 'he thought it not well to have it broken to her Majesty by a number, because he knew her Majesty's nature did like better to be dealt withal by one or two;' he said that he would speak to her himself if Cecil would support him; but Cecil had been absent when the vote was carried; he was not at the meeting, and no one knew what part he would take. They separated without a resolution. Norfolk was in the Queen's presence afterwards, and tried to say something; but his heart or his stomach failed him; 'he fell into an ague, and was fain to get him to bed without his dinner.'[3] A few days after, Elizabeth moved to Richmond, on her way to Hampshire. The Duke when he recovered from his ague followed her, and on his way up found Leicester near Kew

[1] 'Fearing that the fewer they were the greater should be the burden.'—Confession of the Duke of Norfolk, November 10, 1571: *MSS.* QUEEN OF SCOTS.

[2] 'Mas liebra que leon.'—*Address of the English Catholics to Philip II. MSS. Simancas.*

[3] Confession of the Duke of Norfolk.

fishing in the river. Leicester told him that the ice was broken, and he had spoken with the Queen: 'some babbling women had made her Highness believe that they had intended to go through the enterprise without making her Majesty privy to it;' he had satisfied her that those tales were false and untrue: but what more was to be looked for he was unable to say.

Prudence as well as policy would have recommended the Duke at once to follow up the opening. He met Cecil at the palace. Cecil advised him to go at once to the Queen and tell her everything. 'That was the best way to satisfy her Majesty and put doubts out of her mind.'[1] When he could not bring himself to the point, Elizabeth herself made an opportunity for him. After a day had passed and he had said nothing, 'the next morning, as she was walking in the garden, she called him to her and began merrily inquiring what news was abroad.' The Duke said he had heard of none.

'None!' she asked again; 'you come from London, and can tell no news of a marriage?'

He was about to throw himself upon his knees and begin, when Lady Clinton came up with a basket of flowers. The Northern earls and Don Guerau, and the black conspiracy behind the scenes, came back upon him in the moment of enforced reflection—he shrunk away and was silent.

The time was peculiarly favourable. Elizabeth was still in the heat of her exasperation at the proceedings

[1] Confession of the Duke of Norfolk.

of the Scots at Perth, and then, if ever, she might have been tempted to consent. Leicester felt it, and came to the rescue of his friend's timidity. 'One morning' afterwards, the Duke came unawares into the privy chamber; a child was playing on a lute; the Queen was sitting on the door-step, with Leicester at her feet pleading the Duke's cause. The Queen, as he told Norfolk afterwards, was on the point of yielding. Leicester rose and went away. She called the Duke into the room, and again waited for him to speak. But again he could not do it; after a few meaningless remarks he hastened out of her presence, and began to think, after all, that he would let Dacres carry off the Queen of Scots.

She was acute enough to understand his difficulty. There was some cause for his hesitation beyond what she or perhaps Leicester, knew, and at dinner afterwards 'her Majesty gave him a nip, bidding him take heed to his pillow.'[1]

Yet it seemed at this moment that whatever she suspected, or whatever obvious objection she saw to the marriage, the pressure would be too heavy for her. In extreme perplexity she went down attended by the council to Basing House, to stay with the Marquis of Winchester, and Pembroke, who was watching the fluctuations of her humour from day to day, sent word on the 3rd of September to Don Guerau that she would be obliged to consent, because there was

September.

[1] Confession of the Duke of Norfolk.

not a person of those about her who dared to give her different advice.[1]

The situation, with the humours, passions, and purposes belonging to it and interwoven with it, is reflected in two letters from the Spanish ambassador to the Duke of Alva. The guard had been removed from Don Guerau's house, and the conspirators had now free access to him.

DON GUERAU TO THE DUKE OF ALVA.

'August 30.

'The Bishop of Ross came to me this morning with a letter of credit from the Queen his mistress. He told me in her name that in the presence of so general a desire for her marriage with the Duke of Norfolk, she was unable to refuse. The Queen of England had so far been unwilling; but in deference to the wishes of the council she had agreed that the Queen of Scots must be married to some Englishman or other, and when this was once done she would be restored to her crown if she had not previously been invited back by her subjects. Almost all the English nobles, the Bishop says, are of the same opinion. The Queen has offered to call a general meeting of the Peers, and take their advice upon the person to be chosen. There is an impression however that she is seeking delay. She is supposed to have hinted to the Duke that he must not himself think of it. He has been for some days at the Court expecting her to begin

[1] 'En esta hora entiendo del Conde de Pembroke que cree que la Reyna consentirá en el casamiento del Duque por no haber persona que le aconseje lo contrario.'—Don Guerau to Alva, September 4: *MSS. Simancas.*

the subject with him, but so far she has said nothing. The Queen of Scots herself is in some fear that the Queen of England may be provoked by the favour shown her by so many of her subjects to procure some mischief to her person.[1] The Duke therefore, and the confederate nobles, have determined to carry her off from the place where she is confined, and the Earl of Northumberland is to take charge of her in his own country. The whole of the North being at that Earl's devotion, she will be in perfect security, and the Duke and his friends meanwhile will quiet matters in Scotland, if the Regent will not consent to an agreement. All the arrangements are completed, but the Queen of Scots intends to be guided in everything by the King our master and by your Excellency, and she tells me that she will not conclude this marriage till it has received the approbation of his Majesty. This Queen set out yesterday for Basingstoke. If she had not either consented to the marriage or agreed to submit the question to the nobility before her departure, the Duke intended to leave the Court, retire into the country, and take measures to set at liberty the Queen of Scots, and accomplish the rest of his purpose.'[2]

[1] 'Procuré algun daño á su persona.'

[2] Don Guerau to Alva, August 30.—The ambassador enclosed a letter from the Queen of Scots to himself, in which she prayed him 'de ma part de faire entendre au Roy vostre Maître mon bon frère en quel état sont mes affaires, et nommement de l'asseurer de ma constance en la religion Catholique, et que non seulement—moyennant la grâce de Dieu—je demeureray moy mesme constante, mais que j'espere de tirer telz à mon opinion, j'entens à la dicte religion Catholique, que pourryent de beaucoup servir en ses quartiers pour l'avancement d'icelle.'

The Duke had not gone as he had threatened, but he hung about the Queen like a ghost, still silent, and irritating her as much as she frightened him. His spies were round her in her closet and her privy chamber—not a word dropped from her which he did not hear. Alarming movements, almost amounting to insurrections, were reported from the Duke's districts in Norfolk and Suffolk: and at times in her impatience she told Cecil she would send for the Spanish ambassador, make up her quarrels with Philip, and end her troubles so.

Had she done this, Philip was ready at any moment to accept her friendship, order the Catholics into quiet, and leave the Queen of Scots to her fate.

On the 6th of September Don Guerau wrote again:—

'The Bishop of Ross has been a second time with me bringing a letter from his mistress, in which she expresses her desire to be of use to his Majesty and to the Catholic religion. One day it seems as if the Queen of England would allow the marriage; the next she will not hear of it. Leicester is said to take the Duke's part, the Duke giving him hopes that after the expected changes he will be allowed to keep his present position, and even to marry the Queen. Last Saturday the Queen of England was in such alarm that she told Leicester emphatically that the marriage between the Duke and the Queen of Scots should not be. She said that if she consented she would be in the Tower before four months were over. Norfolk has been forbidden to leave the Court, and she means to speak to him. But however it

goes, as I have already told your Excellency, all is arranged in the Queen of Scots' favour, and if she is once at liberty your Excellency can make your game as you please with one Queen or the other.'[1]

'With one Queen or the other.' That only was wanting to complete the universal treachery. Norfolk was pretending an anxiety for the Reformation; and when he had gained the Queen of Scots he was going over to the Catholics. The Queen of Scots was making use of Norfolk; and when she had obtained her liberty by his means, she intended, if Philip would encourage her, to leave him in the mire. The astute Spaniard, when he had placed Mary Stuart in a position to be dangerous to Elizabeth, was to play whichever card promised best to his advantage. France already had its eye on her, as a fit match, could she escape, for the Duke of Anjou. The Duke of Alva would have looked on complacently if it compelled Elizabeth to fall back upon his master.[2]

From the expression that if Norfolk married the Queen of Scots she would herself within four months be in the Tower, it was clear that Elizabeth guessed shrewdly at the Duke's real intentions. While in the extreme of perplexity, four days after Pembroke's message to Don Guerau, she heard, by some means or other, the substance of Norfolk's conversation with Murray at

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[1] *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] 'Es bien verdad que he descubierto que este embajador tiene intencion que si la de Escocia fuese una vez libre, procurase de casarla con el Duque de Anjou.'—Don Guerau to Alva, September 4.

Hampton Court. The Duke, at the close of the investigation, had disclaimed to her, in the most indignant language, all intentions of forming a connection so dishonourable.[1] When she discovered that at that very moment he had been intriguing for the Queen of Scots' hand with the Regent, her worst suspicions were confirmed. The Duke had gone for a day or two to London to arrange matters, as was afterwards known, for the rescue of the Queen of Scots from Wingfield. She sent an order to him to come back to her immediately. He obeyed, and she spoke to him with a sharpness which convinced him at once he had nothing to hope from her. The conditions had thus arisen under which it had been agreed that the Confederates were to take arms. The Duke left the Court without taking leave. He wrote a brief note to Cecil, in which he said he was sorry he had given offence; he trusted the Queen would learn in time to distinguish her true friends,[2] and then galloped back to Don Guerau and the Bishop of Ross. By them the signal for the insurrection was to be sent down to the North, while the Duke himself was to call into the field the gentlemen of Norfolk and Suffolk.

In the presence of immediate danger, the whole force

[1] 'Why,' he said, 'should I seek to marry her being so wicked a woman, such a notorious adulteress and murderess? I love to sleep upon a safe pillow; and if I should go about to marry with her, knowing as I do that she pretendeth a title to the present possession of your Majesty's crown, your Majesty might justly charge me with seeking your own crown from your head.'—Summary of matters wherewith the Duke of Norfolk has been charged: MURDIN, p. 180.

[2] Norfolk to Cecil, September 15, from Andover: *Burghley Papers*, vol. i.

of Elizabeth's character at once returned to her. She broke off her progress, and went back on the spot to Windsor. Knowing well that if a rebellion was to break out the first move would be to carry off the Queen of Scots, doubting too, and as it seemed with reason, whether at such a moment she could trust the loyalty of Shrewsbury,[1] she despatched the Earl of Huntingdon, the one nobleman who, as a competitor for the succession, Mary Stuart especially dreaded, with a commission to take charge of her. The Earl made such haste that within six days of Norfolk's departure, heedless alike of her threats and her lamentations, he had his prisoner safe again at Tutbury, with half her train left behind at Wingfield, and a garrison in the castle of 500 men.[2]

Thus she was secure from any sudden enterprise; while with rapid change of note, Sir Henry Carey carried proposals down to Scotland, not any more for her restoration, but for replacing her in Murray's hands, with security merely for her life.[3] The Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, Lord Lumley, and Sir N. Throgmorton were served with separate orders to present themselves at Windsor. They did not venture to disobey, and on their arrival they were placed under arrest in their rooms. It was ascertained that Norfolk was still in

[1] Shrewsbury had led Mary Stuart to believe that when the movement began he would join her friends. On the 20th of September she wrote to La Mothe:—'Je ne trouve nulle constance en M. de Cherosbury à ceste heure en mon besoing pour toutes les belles parolles qu'il m'a donnée au passé.'—*Dépêches*, vol. ii. p. 254.

[2] The Earl of Huntingdon to Elizabeth, September 21: *MSS.* QUEEN OF SCOTS.

[3] Instructions to Sir H. Carey, September 21: *Burghley Papers.*

London, and a pursuivant was sent to command him on his allegiance to return again to the Court. Norfolk's 'ague' had returned upon him. He announced from Howard House that he was confined to his bed, but that he would obey when his health would permit him. He had come up from Andover to Don Guerau full of sound and fury. A servant of Lord Northumberland was waiting to carry down the signal for the rising. Norfolk talked about despatching him; talked about the rescue of the Queen of Scots; talked while Huntingdon was in the saddle, and then found that he had let the opportunity escape. The northern messenger was fretting to be gone. The Duke said that he must wait to hear first from his friends. He must know what Montague would do; what Lord Morley would do; what many others would do who had promised to rise at his side. With their leader in such a humour, they would sit still if they were wise. Never was successful conspirator made of such stuff as Norfolk. Mary Stuart, in spite of Huntingdon, found means to drive a spur into his side. She sent to bid him be a man, and to have no fears for her, for God would care for her.[1] Had Mary Stuart been at large and in the field, there would have been a bloodier page in the history of the English Reformation. Had Norfolk stood out himself as Mary Stuart bade him, had he proclaimed himself the champion of her and of the Catholic faith, the Earl of Surrey's son, the premier

[1] 'La Reyna de Escocia envia á decir al Duque que haga como valeroso, y que de su vida no lleve cuenta, que Dios la guardara.'—Don Guerau to Philip, September 30.

nobleman of England, might have roused out of its sleep the spirit of feudal chivalry, and Elizabeth would have encountered a rebellion to which the Pilgrimage of Grace would have been child's play. But it was not in him, and it could not come out of him. He had indeed committed himself to treason, for he had attempted, in concert with Don Guerau, to send a messenger to the Duke of Alva for assistance.[1] But here too the Queen had been too quick for him—the ports were closed. He could but shiver into an ague and crawl to bed till the police came to look for him.

In this condition, and unable to resolve whether to submit or to try his fortune by arms, he chose the half course which is always the more dangerous. After a hurried interview with Don Guerau, who grew cold as he saw his feebleness, the Duke sent off to Northumberland to tell the Earl that, having missed the chance of rescuing the Queen of Scots, he would put her life in peril if he were now to rise. The insurrection therefore must at all hazards be postponed. Having assumed the responsibility of preventing his friends from moving, he ought then to have taken the consequences upon himself, and to have returned to the Court. But he preferred to take refuge among his own dependents. He believed that the Queen would not venture to send for him among a people who would have given their lives had he required them in his defence. He stole out of

[1] 'Por la parte de la dicha Reyna de Escocia y Duque queria enviar persona al Duque de Alva, y con estar los puertos cerrados no ha sido aun possible.'—Don Guerau to Philip, Sept. 30.

London and went down to Kenninghall, and thence he wrote a letter to her as mean as it was false. 'He grieved to hear that her Majesty was displeased with him,' he said: 'He took God to witness that he had never entertained a thought against her Highness, her crown or dynasty;' but 'finding cold looks at the Court, and hearing that he was to be sent to the Tower, he feared that he would not be able to show his innocence to her Majesty, and therefore had preferred to withdraw.' 'Thus much I protest to your Majesty,' he dared to say; 'I never dealt in the Queen of Scots' cause further than I declared, nor ever intended to deal otherwise than I might obtain your Highness's favour so to do.'[1]

The confidence in the Duke's substantial loyalty was still almost universal.[2] Elizabeth knew too much to feel any such assurance. She was determined to get to the bottom of the mystery. She sent an express to Tutbury to say that the Duke having withdrawn to Keninghall, and there being some uncertainty of his meaning, Lord Huntingdon must look well to his charge, and see that she did not slip through his hands. He might tell the Queen of Scots that no harm was intended towards her; she would yet receive 'more good

[1] Norfolk to Elizabeth, September 24, from Keninghall: *Burghley Papers*, vol. i.

[2] On the 18th of September Hunsdon wrote to Cecil 'that he was right glad her Majesty did so mislike the marriage. Whoever began it meant not faithfully to her Majesty nor friendly to the Duke. It had been long brewing and there had been strange dealing, but he did not doubt the Duke would show himself an obedient subject.—Ibid.

than it was thought she had deserved;' but he must examine her coffers and her servants' boxes, and send all the papers that he could find to the Court.[1] Mary Stuart had taken the precaution to burn her letters before she left Wingfield, Lord Shrewsbury, for his own sake perhaps, having given her the opportunity. The Earl's followers were rude chamber-grooms, and had not cared before entering the Queen of Scots' apartments to take the pistols out of their belts. She was furious at the insult. She protested as usual that she had done nothing to deserve suspicion.[2] She stormed at Huntingdon, and said she would make him feel what her credit was in England.[3] It was like handling a wild cat in a cage, and the Earl could but pray God to 'assist her Majesty and her council with the spirit of wisdom and fortitude of mind, which two things were necessarily required, considering the person they had to deal with.'[4]

The search of course had been vain, and so far there was nothing against Norfolk but presumption from his own conduct. A Queen's messenger followed him to Keninghall with a command that 'without manner of excuse' he should return immediately. Had he obeyed, he would have probably fared no worse than his companions in the council, and he might have succeeded

[1] The Queen to Huntingdon, September 25: *MSS.* QUEEN OF SCOTS.

[2] 'She took grievously our search, pleadeth greatly her innocency to the Queen's Majesty, of whose dealing to her she speaketh bitterly.'—Huntingdon to Cecil, September 27: *Burghley Papers*, vol. i.

[3] Huntingdon to Cecil, October 10: Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

after all. 'There is a great change,' Don Guerau wrote. 'The complaints are loud against Cecil, who has manœuvred with astonishing skill. I know not what will happen. I can only say that with the party which the Duke commands in the country he can only fail through cowardice.'[1] The Duke thought so too, and at Keninghall, where his ante-rooms were thronged with knights and gentlemen, all hanging upon his word, his courage came back to him. He refused at first to see the messenger. He said he was too ill to leave his house. If the Queen would send a member of the council to him, he would answer her questions where he was.

But again after a day or two his heart failed him. A message came to him from Leicester, that he had nothing to fear from submission. If he persisted in disobedience he would be proclaimed a traitor. He would then have to commit his fate to the chances of civil war, and he persuaded himself that he would compromise the Queen of Scots.[2] His illness had no existence except in his alarms. The messenger had lingered waiting for his final resolution; he withdrew his answer and made up his mind to return. His friends and servants, clearer-sighted than himself, entreated him not to leave them. They held him by the knees, they clung to his stirrup-leathers as he mounted his horse, crying that he was going to the scaffold.

October.

[1] 'No se lo que sucedera. Entiendo que segun los amigos que el Duque tiene en el Reyno no puede perderse sino por pusillanimidad.'—Don Guerau to Philip, September 30.

[2] 'O Como dice por escusar el evidente peligro de la de Escocia que esta en poder de sus enemigos.'—Don Guerau to Philip, October 8.

But his spirits were gone. With a handful of attendants[1] he rode back to London, and from thence he was proceeding to Windsor, when he was met a few miles distant by an intimation that he was a prisoner and must remain in charge of Sir Henry Neville, at Mr Wentworth's house at Burnham.

Elizabeth, who had heard of the attitude which he had assumed in Norfolk, talked of placing him on his trial for treason. But such a challenge to the Peers was as yet too perilous an experiment, and Cecil's prudence interposed. He wrote rather than spoke to Elizabeth, because he had things to say which he intended for herself alone, and his letter remains to show the calm wisdom with which he controlled her passion. 'No true councillor of her Majesty,' he said, 'could be without grief to see the affairs of the Queen of Scots become so troublesome to her;' nevertheless he thought she was more alarmed than the occasion required.' 'The case was not so terrible as her Majesty would have it.' 'The Queen of Scots would always be a dangerous person to her, but there were degrees by which the danger might be made more or less. If she would herself marry, it would diminish; if she remained single, it would increase. If the Queen of Scots was kept a prisoner, it would diminish; if she was at liberty, it would be greater.' 'If the Queen of Scots was manifested to be unable by law to have any other husband than Bothwell while Bothwell lived,' it would dimin-

[1] 'Dexando los pensamientos de rompimiento por ahora se vinó con pocos caballos.'—Don Guerau to Philip, October 8.

ish; if she was declared free, it would be greater. If she was declared an offender in the murdering of her husband, she would be less able to be a person perilous; if her offence was passed over in silence, the scar of the wound would wear out.' So much for the Queen of Scots. For the Duke of Norfolk, and for her Majesty's intentions towards him, she must remember that there were as yet no proofs against him, 'and if he was tried and not convicted, it would not only save but increase his credit.' The Duke's offence, so far as could be seen at present, did not 'come within the compass of treason,' 'and better it were in the beginning to foresee the matter than to attempt it with discredit, not without opinion of evil will or malice.' He sent Elizabeth a copy of the statute of Edward III. He recommended that in the inquiry into Norfolk's behaviour the word treason should not be mentioned. 'Better,' he said, half in irony—'better marry the Duke to somebody. Provide him with a wife and his hopes of the Scotch Queen will pass away.'[1]

Elizabeth was but half convinced. On the 8th of October an order was made out to Sir Francis Knowles to take charge of the person of the Duke of Norfolk and conduct him to the Tower.[2] He was not prepared for so decisive measures. He had communicated since his arrest with Don Guerau, under the impression that he was too large a person to be rudely handled, and

[1] Cecil to Elizabeth, October 6, 1569: Endorsed, 'My advice to her Majesty in the Duke of Norfolk's case: *Cotton. MSS.* CALIG. C. i.

[2] Commission to Sir F. Knowles, October 8: *MSS. Domestic.*

still talking of changing the government and overthrowing Cecil. He believed himself to be popular in London. He had persuaded himself that the Queen could not risk the danger of sending him under a guard through the streets.

Don Guerau thought that he was mistaken. Though he regarded the heretics as children of hell, he respected their courage, nor did he expect, since the success at Hamburgh, that the city would be disturbed. The Government, to incur no unnecessary risk, sent the prisoner by water from Windsor. The banks between Westminster and London bridge were lined with crowds, who, according to La Mothe, were vociferous in their expressions of displeasure, but there was no attempt at rescue; and when the Tower gates closed behind the head of the English nobility, no party in the country felt less pity for him than those whose fine-laid schemes he had played with and ruined by his cowardice.

On the 8th of October Don Guerau wrote to Philip:—

'The Earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Derby—the whole Catholic body—are furious at the timidity which the Duke has shown. The Earl of Northumberland's servant who was here a while ago about this business, has returned to me, and I have letters also in cipher from the Bishop of Ross. The sum of their message to me is this, that they will take forcible possession of the Queen of Scots. They will then make themselves masters of the northern

counties, re-establish the Catholic religion, and restore to your Majesty whatever prizes taken from your Majesty's subjects now in the harbours on these coasts. They hope that when the Queen of Scots is free they may be supplied with a few harquebuss-men from the Low Countries. I have referred their request to the Duke of Alva.'[1]

[1] *MSS. Simancas.*

CHAPTER LIII.

THE RISING OF THE NORTH.

THE Duke of Norfolk was in the Tower; Pembroke, Arundel, Throgmorton, and Lumley were under arrest at Windsor; Leicester alone of the party about the Court who had been implicated in the marriage intrigue, had run for harbour, when he saw the storm coming, and had escaped imprisonment. But the revelation of so dangerous a temper so close at her own door, however veiled it might be under professions of fidelity, and the sudden breach with half her first advisers, who for ten years had stood loyally at her side, had shocked Elizabeth inexpressibly. The composing language of Cecil failed to quiet her. So furious was she with Norfolk, that in the intervals of hysterics, she said that, 'law or no law,' 'she would have his head.'[1] She was distracted with the sense of dim but fearful perils overshadowing her, which she felt to be near but could not grasp; and for ever the figure of the

[1] 'Allez, dict elle; ce que les loix ne pourront sur sa teste, mon authorité le pourra.'—La Mothe au Roy, October 28: *Dépêches*, vol. ii.

prisoner at Tutbury floated ominously in the air, haunting her dreams and perplexing her waking thoughts. The ingenuity with which she had tempted Murray to produce the casket had failed of its purpose. The peers, as well as the council, had seen the damning proofs of Mary Stuart's guilt; not one among them had pretended to believe her innocent; yet so terrible to the mind of England was the memory of York and Lancaster, that, to escape a second war of succession, they were ready to condone the crimes of the second person in the realm; and one of them, the highest subject in the land, was willing to take the murderess to his bed. It was too late now for Elizabeth to throw herself upon the world's conscience, publish the letters, and declare her rival infamous. The peers, who for very shame in the past winter would have been compelled to consent, would now refuse to set their hands to her condemnation, and a proclamation unsupported by names which would be open to no suspicion, would no longer carry conviction to the people.

In August, chafed by the demands of the Court of France, irritated at the ferment at the Court, and at the consciousness that half her present vexations were her own work, through her refusal to marry the Archduke; half regretting, now when it was too late, that she had thrown away an opportunity which would have pacified legitimate discontent,[1] she was on the point of making

[1] 'If the Queen's Majesty had in time married with the Archduke Charles, wherein you write she now uttereth her disposition, it had been the better way for her surety. But that matter hath been so handled as

a victim of the Earl of Murray, breaking her solemn promise, and forcing back upon him the sovereign whom only she had induced him to accuse.

She was now frightened into a recollection of her obligations. She discovered that the matter which had been proposed by her 'was very weighty,' that Murray's answer 'had been with great deliberation conceived, and carried with it much reason.'[1] But the difficulty of the Queen of Scots' presence was none the less embarrassing. She could trust no one since the rupture in the council but Cecil and two or three more. Lord Shrewsbury was suspected for those Catholic tendencies on account of which he had been selected as the Queen of Scots' guardian; but the substitution of Huntingdon, though necessary for her immediate safety, had been received with strong expressions of displeasure by the ambassadors of the Catholic Powers. She had offended a powerful English nobleman, and it was to no purpose that she pretended that her motive in making the change had been Lord Shrewsbury's ill health. The Earl demanded as a point of honour, that the prisoner should be restored to his custody;[2] and, although the danger of escape was notoriously increased, the Queen could not afford to alienate a tottering

on the one side it is desperate that her Majesty will bonâ fide intend to marry, and on the other side it is doubtful whether upon the hard dealings past she may be induced to any further talk thereby. God work in her heart to do that may be most for her honour and surety.'—Sussex to Cecil, October 11: *Cotton. MSS. B.M.*

[1] Elizabeth to Murray, October 23: *MSS. Scotland.*

[2] Correspondence between Shrewsbury, Huntingdon, and Cecil, October, 1569: *MSS.* QUEEN OF SCOTS.

loyalty, and with the advice of Huntingdon himself, she consented.[1]

Again therefore there was an anxious consideration of the steps to be taken; and again, the private papers of Cecil reveal the most secret thoughts of the Court. One short road there was. The past reigns afforded many precedents for the treatment of pretenders to the crown. The Queen 'might do that which in other times kings and princes had done by justice—take the Queen of Scots' life from her;'[2] or, if this was too severe a measure, she might keep her in strait prison till her health failed and she died, as poor Catherine Grey had died. But 'her Majesty,' who had shown no pity to the innocent wife of Lord Hertford, affected to 'dread the slander to herself and the realm;' she found 'her disposition was to show clemency, and she would not by imprisonment or otherwise use that avenge.'

There remained therefore three possibilities: either to keep her in England as the unwilling guest of Lord Shrewsbury, prevented from escaping, but with no further restrictions upon her enjoyments and her exercise; or to let her go to France; or, finally, to send her back to Scotland as a prisoner.

The second could not be thought of. 'It was in France that she did first pretend and publish her title

[1] 'Han quitado al Conde de Huntingdon de la guarda de la de Escocia que sera ya gran comodidad. La guarda del Conde de Shrewsbury no siendo tan estrecha hay grande comodidad de darle libertad.'—Don Guerau to Philip, November 20: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] Notes in Cecil's hand, October, 1569: *Cotton. MSS. B.M.*

to the crown of England: she continued in the same mind, and no place could serve her better to prosecute still the same intentions.'

In England, unless she was restricted from all communication, she would be the focus of perpetual conspiracy. 'The number of Papists,' in Cecil's judgment, 'was constantly increasing.' A large party in the State, 'Papists, Protestants, and Neutrals,' were 'inclined from worldly respects,' in consequence of the Queen's refusal to marry, to favour the Scottish title. The conspiracy in the council had arisen from a craving 'for the certainty of some succession,' and for a union of the island under one sovereign. Every person in the country, who was discontented 'either from matters of religion, Court neglect, or poverty, or other causes,' would take the side of the Queen of Scots for the mere hope of some change. Her presence in the realm would be a perpetual temptation. Her person, except as a close prisoner, could not be effectively secured. She might escape, she might be carried off, or her keepers might be corrupted. The foreign Courts would never cease to worry the Queen with requests for her release. She might contract herself to some prince who would demand her as his wife, and a refusal to part with her might be construed into an occasion of war. 'Being in captivity,' she would be increasingly commiserated; 'her sufferings more lamented than her fault condemned.' 'The casualty of her death by course of nature would be interpreted to the worst.' The Queen's own health 'might be worn away with per-

petual anxiety,' and should she die suddenly, with the succession unprovided for, the consequences could not fail to be most dreadful.[1]

The arguments, so far, pointed to the replacing Mary Stuart in the condition from which she had escaped in her flight from Lochleven, with this difference only, that Murray and Murray's party would be required to give hostages for the security of her life, and for her safe keeping during Elizabeth's pleasure.

Yet this measure too was not without its objections. If Murray died or was murdered, it was uncertain whether his party would be strong enough to hold her. She might escape as she escaped before. The Catholic Powers would have as many motives as ever for interference, and she herself 'would be the bolder to practise being then in prison, because she would think her life in no danger through the hostages in England.' There would be the same peril of her contracting a marriage abroad; while, should her own friends in Scotland gain the upper hand, she would be restored to the government; the Protestant religion would be suppressed, and the two countries relapse into their old hostility. The great point was to hold her fast, and this could be done more easily in England than in Scotland. The government of the young King could then be firmly established, and should France or Spain 'attempt anything for her,' while she was in the Queen of England's hands, 'her Majesty might justly, if she was thereto provoked,

[1] Notes in Cecil's hand, October, 1569: *Cotton. MSS. B.M.*

make an end of the matter by using extremity on her part.'[1]

The reasoning on both sides was so evenly balanced that either Cecil's mind wavered, or else his own judgment pointed one way and Elizabeth's wishes the other.[2] At last however a further suggestion presented itself. The root of Elizabeth's difficulties had been, first, her unnecessary interference to prevent the Scots from trying their Queen for the murder, and, secondly, her want of courage in publishing the results of the investigation at Hampton Court. She could no longer do this herself, but the public disgrace would be equally insured,

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[1] Notes in Cecil's hand, October, 1569: *Cotton. MSS.* CALIG. *B.M.*

In a letter said to have been written by Leicester in 1585, there is a statement that in the autumn of 1569, in consequence of the discovery of Mary Stuart's intrigues, 'the Great Seal of England was sent down and thought just and meet upon the sudden for her execution.' The letter is printed by Mr Tytler, *History of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 463, and the fact is by him assumed to be true. The records of this year are so complete, the changing feelings, the perplexities, the hesitations of the Government are so copiously revealed in the loose notes of Cecil, that it is hard to understand how a resolution of so much magnitude could have been arrived at without some definite trace of it being discoverable. The contingency of the Queen of Scots' execution was obviously contemplated as not impossible; but in the absence of other evidence it is more likely either that Leicester, writing sixteen years after, made a mistake in the date, or that an error has crept in through transcribers. The original of the letter, I believe, is no longer extant.

[2] In following Cecil's papers there is always great difficulty in distinguishing his own opinions from the Queen's. Letters in his hand were often written by him merely as Elizabeth's secretary and against his own judgment. They were frequently accompanied by private communications from himself, in which he deplored resolutions which he was unable to prevent. In the present instance there are many papers all in the same hand, all written within a few days of each other, pointing to different conclusions,

if the Scots were now allowed to do what before they desired to do, if Mary Stuart was replaced in their hands, and was brought publicly to the bar in her own country.[1] It has been already mentioned that Sir H. Carey had been sent down to consult the Regent. This plan it is at least likely that he was secretly instructed to propose.

Meanwhile Cecil set himself to discover whether Norfolk's conduct had further bearings than as yet he knew of. His position was critical in the extreme. Half the council—the Reactionaries, Conservatives, Moderates, Semi-Catholics, or by whatever name they may be called—were in disgrace. Leicester, then as ever useless for any honourable purpose, was a dead weight upon his hands, and he was left alone with those who along with himself were dreaded as the advocates of revolution—the Lord Keeper, the Earl of Bedford, Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir Francis Knowles, and Sir Ralph Sadler. These half-dozen men, among whom Bedford alone possessed pretensions to high birth, had to undertake the examination of the noblemen who had so lately sat at the same table with them. The first interviews were said to have been sufficiently stormy.[2] Pembroke avowed his desire for the Norfolk marriage,

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[1] This was certainly thought of, although it does not appear among Cecil's notes. Sir Henry Neville writing to him on the 4th of October says: 'The trial of the murder must needs be a safety unto the Queen, and such a defacing unto the other as I think will pluck away that love that all your other devices will not.' —*Domestic MSS. Rolls House.*

[2] 'Pasaron entre ellos muchas palabras de passion.'—Don Guerau to Philip, October 8: *MSS. Simancas.*

and did not shrink in any way from the responsibility of having advised it. So far as the lords had acted together, they had done nothing which could be termed disloyal. Cross-questioning failed to draw anything from them which incriminated the Queen of Scots,[1] and Pembroke both with success and dignity defended the integrity of his own intentions.[2] But he said that he was contented to submit to the Queen's pleasure, and it was not Cecil's policy to press upon him. None better understood than he how to build a bridge for men to retreat over out of a false position. The Bishop of Ross declared that 'he had never dealt with any other except such as had credit with the Queen.[3] Cecil, who had not yet learned the Bishop's power of lying, let the answer pass. To extract truth from Leslie required sharper handling than words.

Conciliation, except with the two chief offenders, was the order of the day. Traces, though indistinct, had been found of the hand of Ridolfi. He was confined, rather as a guest than as a prisoner, in the house of Walsingham, and was desired to place in writing as

[1] 'La mayor fuerça de la probança tiraba á culpar la de Escocia, á la qual descargáron todos como era justo.'—Don Guerau to Philip, October 8: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] 'In those conferences that I have been at of the Queen of Scots' marriage it is not unknown to you, my Lord of Leicester and Mr Secretary, to whose knowledge in this behalf I appeal, with what earnestness I have always protested with my life, lands, body, and goods, the maintenance of God's true religion now established by her Majesty, and the conservation of her Majesty's person, quiet, estate, and dignity against all the attempts—yea, or motioners, of the contrary.'—Pembroke to the Council, October, 1569.

[3] Examination of the Bishop of Ross, October 10: *Burghley Papers*, vol. i.

much as he knew of a Catholic conspiracy. But the questions put to him were insignificant and easily evaded. His house was searched without his knowledge, but he had concealed or destroyed all his important papers; and so little suspicion had the Queen of the nature of the person that she had in her hand, that when he was released from arrest, she consulted him about the Spanish quarrel, and 'desired his secret opinion' as to the best means of accommodating her differences with Philip.[1]

Against Norfolk the Queen was still violently angry. Although she had no proof that he had meditated treason, she felt instinctively that she could not trust him. He wrote repeatedly to her, insisting upon his loyalty, and 'taking God to witness he never thought to do anything that might be disagreeable to her good pleasure:' but fine phrases of this kind had lost their power; Cecil's plan of rendering him harmless by providing him with another Duchess was seriously contemplated; and it was intimated to him, that at all events he would not leave the Tower till he had given a promise in writing to think no more of the Queen of Scots.

The Duke's friends in the council had abandoned their project sincerely. The Duke himself had no intention whatever of abandoning it. The great Catholic party was still entire. The mine which they had dug was still loaded, and the hope of foreign assistance as

[1] Leicester and Cecil to Walsingham, October 7, October 19, October 23: *Domestic MSS.*

strong as ever. The Duke still expected that he would reap the fruit of all this, and least of all would he part with his hope of Mary Stuart. But he desired to recover his liberty. Lies cost Norfolk nothing. He was ready to say whatever would answer his purpose. He feared only that if he gave the Queen the promise which she demanded from him, Mary Stuart herself might take him at his word, or the Bishop of Ross perhaps, in irritation at his apostasy, might tell secrets which would be dangerous to him if revealed. He drew up therefore, in the most complete form, the required renunciation; he gave emphasis to his professions by the most elaborate asseverations of good faith; and while he sent the original of this document to Elizabeth, he forwarded a copy of it to the Bishop of Ross, desiring him to tell his mistress, that he had yielded only in order to escape from the Tower, and that he had no intention of observing an engagement which had been extorted from him by violence.[1]

Could Norfolk have known the supreme willingness with which Mary Stuart had been ready to throw him

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[1] 'One great fault I committed. When I should send in my submission to her Majesty, thinking that it would not long be kept close but go abroad, fearing that if it should come to the Bishop's ears he would in a rage accuse me of my writings,—to prevent the same I sent the copy of it to him, to see, before I sent it to her Majesty, saying that necessity drove me to signify this or else I was like to lie here while I lived; and therefore I desired him that he would not mislike thereof, and that he would also write to the Queen of Scots in that behalf that I did it of necessity and not willingly. I, trusting in worldly policy, have sped like a mired horse—the further he plungeth the further he is mired.'—Confession of the Duke of Norfolk: *MSS.* MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

over, should it suit her convenience to do so, he would have been less ready to lie for her. His late imbecility had not raised him in her good opinion; but as he might still be useful, she flattered him into the continuance of his folly; and both he and she, while they besieged Elizabeth with protestations of their honesty, fed in secret upon visions of coming triumph when Alva's legions would land at Harwich or in Scotland, and every Catholic in the island would spring into the field to join them.

But if either these hopes were to be realized or their professions successfully maintained, it was necessary to prevent the Northern Counties from exploding into premature rebellion; and this might prove less easy than Norfolk wished. For years past—from the day of her return from France to Holyrood—Mary Stuart had been in correspondence with the gentlemen of Yorkshire and Northumberland. The death of Darnley had cooled their passion for her, but when she came to England she soon 'enchanted' them again 'by her flexible wit and sugared eloquence.'[1] Before Sir Francis Knowles cut short her levées at Carlisle, they had listened in hundreds to her own tale of her wrongs, and besides their religion and political predilections for her, they had been set on fire with a chivalrous enthusiasm for the lovely lady who was in the hands of the magicians.

When she was removed from Carlisle to Bolton, the gates of Scrope's castle were usually thrown open to the

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[1] Notes in Cecil's hand, October 6: *Cotton. MSS.* Calig. C.

neighbourhood, and the eager knights-errant had free access to her presence. When at times she was thought likely to attempt an escape and the guards were set upon the alert, loyalty, like love, still found means to penetrate the charmed circle. Every high-spirited young gentleman, whose generosity was stronger than his intelligence, had contrived in some way to catch a glance from her eyes and to hear some soft words from her lips, and from that moment became her slave, body and soul.

Conspicuous among these youths were the Nortons, of whom the reader has heard as the intending assassins of the Earl of Murray.

The father, Richard Norton, was past middle life at the time of the Pilgrimage of Grace. It may be assumed with confidence that he was one of the thirty thousand enthusiasts who followed Robert Aske from Pomfret to Doncaster behind the banner of the Five Wounds of Christ. Now in his old age, he was still true to the cause. He had been left like a great many others unmolested in the profession and practice of his faith; and he had bred up eleven stout sons and eight daughters, all like himself devoted children of Holy Church. One of these, Christofer, had been among the first to enroll himself a knight of Mary Stuart. His religion had taught him to combine subtlety with courage; and through carelessness, or treachery, or his own address, he had been admitted into Lord Scrope's guard at Bolton Castle. There he was at hand to assist his lady's escape, should escape prove possible; there he

was able to receive messages or carry them; there to throw the castellan off his guard, he pretended to flirt with her attendants, and twice at least by his own confession, closely as the prisoner was watched, he contrived to hold private communications with her.

The scenes which he describes throw sudden and vivid light upon the details of Mary Stuart's confinement. The rooms occupied by her opened out of the great hall. An antechamber and an apartment beyond it were given up to her servants. Her own bed-room, the third of the series, was at the farther extremity. A plan had been formed to carry her off. Lady Livingston affected to be in love with young Norton, and had pretended to promise him a secret interview in the twilight outside the moat. The Queen was to personate the lady, and she and the cavalier were to fly together. It was necessary that Norton should see Mary Stuart to direct her what she was to do. He was on duty in the hall. By a preconcerted arrangement, a page in the anteroom took liberties with one of the maids. There was much screaming, tittering, and confusion. Norton rushed in to keep the peace, and, sheltered by the hubbub, contrived to pass through and to say what he desired. The scheme, like a hundred others, came to nothing; but as one web was ravelled out, a second was instantly spun. Another time Mary Stuart had something to say to Norton; and this scene—so distinct is the picture—may be told in his own words:—

'One day when the Queen of Scots, in winter,[1] had

[1] 1568-9.

been sitting at the window-side knitting of a work, and after the board was covered, she rose and went to the fire-side, and, making haste to have the work finished, would not lay it away, but worked of it the time she was warming of herself. She looked for one of her servants, which indeed were all gone to fetch up her meat, and, seeing none of her own folk there, called me to hold her work, who was looking at my Lord Scrope and Sir Francis Knowles playing of chess. I went, thinking I had deserved no blame, and that it should not have become me to have refused to do it, my Lady Scrope standing there, and many gentlemen in the chamber, that saw she spake not to me. I think Sir Francis saw not nor heard when she called of me. But when he had played his mate, he, seeing me standing by the Queen holding of her work, called my captain to him and asked him if I watched. He answered, sometimes. Then he gave him commandment that I should watch no more, and said the Queen would make me a fool.'[1]

How full of life is the description! The castle hall, the winter day, the servants bringing up the dinner, the game at chess, and Maimouna, with her soft eyes and skeins of worsted, binding the hands and heart of her captive knight. Two years later the poor youth was under the knife of the executioner at Tyburn.

And such as Norton was, were a thousand more who hung about Bolton, Wingfield, Tutbury, wherever Mary

[1] Confession of Christofer Norton, April, 1570: *MSS. Domestic, Rolls House.*

Stuart was confined, lying in wait for a glimpse of her as she passed hunting, surrounded by her guards, or watching at night among the rocks and bushes for the late light of the taper which flickered in her chamber windows.[1]

And now all these youths, through the summer of 1569, had been fed with the hope that their day was coming, when either the noblemen of England united in council would force the Queen to set her captive free, or they themselves, her glorious band of deliverers, were to burst the walls of this prison and bear her away in triumph. The adhesion of the Duke of Norfolk to their party, coupled with some uncertainty among themselves, had modified their original programme. The Duke having a large party among the Protestants,[2] they intended to say nothing about religion till they had used their help and could afford to show their colours. The pretext for the rising was to be the liberation of Mary Stuart, the establishment of the succession in her favour, and the removal of evil councillors about the Queen.[3] The signal for rebellion was to be the withdrawal of the Duke of Norfolk from the Court. The Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland and Leonard Dacres were then to take the field, while Norfolk, Arundel, Montague, Lumley, and the rest of the

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[1] One of Mary Stuart's peculiarities—a remarkable one in those times—was that she seldom went to bed till one or two in the morning.

[2] 'Car infinis Protestants sont pour le Duc.'—La Mothe to the King, October 8.

[3] Confession of the Earl of Northumberland: *Border MSS.*

Confederates were to raise the East and the South.[1] Confident in their own strength, confident in the seeming union of three quarters of the nobility, confident in the provisions which the Spanish ambassador had made in Alva's name and which Alva intended to observe so far as he might find expedient, they believed that they had but to show themselves in arms, for all opposition to go down before them.

The whole scheme had been thrown into confusion by the irresolution of Norfolk. Leonard Dacres, Westmoreland, old Norton, and a number of gentlemen, were collected at Lord Northumberland's house at Topcliff, waiting for news from London. The Duke, in the short fit of courage which returned to him at Keninghall, had sent to Northumberland to say 'that he would stand and abide the venture and not go up to the Queen.'[2] They were expecting every moment to hear that the Eastern Counties had risen, when one midnight, at the end of September, they were roused out of their sleep to be told that a messenger had come. It was a servant of Norfolk's. He would not come to the house, but was waiting 'a flight shot from the park wall.' Westmoreland went out to him and came back presently to say 'that the Duke, for the brotherly love they bore him, begged them not to stir or he would be in danger of losing his head.'

The preparations for the rising were so complete that there was scarcely a hope that their intentions could

[1] Confession of Thomas Bishop, May 10, 1570: *MSS. Hatfield.*

[2] Confession of the Earl of Northumberland: *MSS. Border.*

be concealed. Dacres and Northumberland, 'seeing small hopes of success, were desirous to put off the matter,' but many of the gentlemen being 'hot and earnest,' cursed the Duke and their unlucky connection with him, and, careless whether he lived or died, 'resolved to stir notwithstanding.' The lords were obliged to seem to yield. As Norfolk had turned coward, they were no longer tied by other considerations: they could now change their cry; and when Westmoreland inquired what 'the quarrel was to be?' there was a general shout, 'for religion.'

Lord Westmoreland made an objection curiously characteristic of the times.

'Those,' he said, 'that seem to take that quarrel in other countries are counted as rebels, and I will never blot my name, which has been preserved thus long without staining.'[1] 'A scruple' rose, 'whether by God's law they might wage battle against an anointed Prince, until he or she was lawfully excommunicated by the Head of the Church.'

Three priests were present, to whom the question was referred. One, a Doctor Morton, by whom Northumberland had been reconciled two years before, said that, as the Queen had refused to receive the Pope's Nuntio, she was excommunicated then and there by her own act. The other two thought direct rebellion unlawful 'until the sentence had been orderly published within the realm.'[2]

[1] Confession of the Earl of Northumberland: *MSS. Border.*
[2] Ibid.

The earls might have been pardoned for not anticipating the weakness of Norfolk; they were inexcusable in not having discovered beforehand the condition of Catholic opinion on a point so vital. The party broke up with this new element of disunion among them. They agreed that at least for the present they must remain quiet; and Northumberland sent Sir Oswald Wilkinson to the Spanish ambassador to ascertain more certainly what they were to look for from Flanders.[1] So October passed away, bringing with it, unfortunately, a fresh defeat of the Huguenots at Moncoutour to excite the Catholics, while at the same time an unexpected commission of an alarming kind came over from Brussels. The Spanish ambassador had been released from restraint, and Elizabeth had given him to understand that if some person was sent to her with powers direct from the King of Spain, she would treat for the restoration of the money. Such a person was now announced to be coming, bearing, as she desired, a commission from Philip; but the minister selected for the mission was the ablest officer in the Duke of Alva's army, Chapin Vitelli, Marquis of Cetona. Why a soldier had been chosen for a diplomatic embassy was a mystery which misled alike the Court and the Catholics. In reality the Duke of Alva, finding a large responsibility thrown upon him by Philip, and ignorant how far he could depend upon the representations of Don Guerau and his friends, desired

[1] Confession of Oswald Wilkinson: MURDIN.

to have some professional opinion on the relative strength of the Queen and the Catholics. Chapin was sent over to negotiate—should negotiation prove possible—with all sincerity. If any disturbance broke out, he was to avail himself of it to obtain better terms for his master; but he was not intended to take part actively under any circumstances, and was merely to use his eyes in case ulterior measures should be eventually necessary.[1] The heated imagination of the Catholics however saw in him the herald of the coming army of liberation. The news spread over the kingdom, and the fire which was beginning to smoulder shot again into a blaze. The impression was confirmed by the great anxiety of the Court. Sixty gentlemen who attended Chapin from Flanders were detained at Dover, and he was allowed to take on with him no more than five attendants;[2] while, owing to the suspension of the

[1] That the hopes held out by Don Guerau to the Catholics were not as yet to be fulfilled is perfectly clear from a letter written by Philip during the autumn. Speaking of the proposed insurrection and the overtures of the Catholics to Don Guerau, Philip says:—

'No se puede ni debe tratar dello hasta ver al fin que tiene la negociation que se trae sobre restitucion de lo arestado, que si sucede como se pretende, por mi parte no se dejará de levantar adelante la antigua amistad que mis pasados y yo habemos tenido con esa corona: pero no se haciendo asi, ya entonces seria menester tomar otro camino, y para tal caso es muy conveniente que vos me vais siempre avisando como lo haceis.'

Philip was just then troubled with an insurrection of the Moors, and having Flanders on his hands also, was most unwilling to add to his embarrassments. The English Catholics might rebel if they pleased. If they could overthrow Elizabeth without assistance from himself, he would be very well satisfied, and if vague promises held out in his name encouraged them to rebel, the insurrection would at least incline Elizabeth to come to terms with Spain.

[2] La Mothe to the King, October 8.

more moderate element in the council, a step was taken which, though often threatened, had been hitherto delayed by the influence of Pembroke and Arundel. The Act of Uniformity was at last to be enforced, and every magistrate in the kingdom was to be required to subscribe to an obligation to maintain the law, and himself to set an example of obedience by attendance at church.[1]

The ecclesiastical arrangements everywhere were in extreme confusion; and the principles of Anglicanism had been worked with extreme looseness.[2]

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[1] Form to be subscribed by all magistrates. Addressed to the Lord Keeper.

'Our humble duties remembered to your Lordship. This is to signify that we whose names are by ourselves underwritten do acknowledge that it is our bounden duty to observe the contents of the Act of Parliament entitled An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Service in the Church and the administration of the Sacraments. And for observation of the same law we do hereby formally promise that every one of us and our families will and shall repair and resort at all times convenient to our parish church, or upon reasonable impediment, to other chapels or places for the same common prayer, and there shall devoutly and duly hear and take part of the same common prayer and all other divine service, and shall also receive the Holy Sacrament from time to time according to the terms of the said Act of Parliament. Neither shall any of us that have subscribed do or say or assert, or suffer anything to be done or said by our procurement or allowance, in contempt, lack, or reproof of any part of religion established by the foresaid Act.'—*MSS. Domestic*, November, 1569.

[2] In connection with the bond of the magistrates, reports were sent in of the condition of different dioceses. The following account of the diocese of Chichester may perhaps be an illustration of the state of the rest of the county. Sussex being a southern country was one of those where the Reformation was supposed to have made most progress

Disorders in the Diocese of Chichester, December, 1569.

'In many churches they have no sermons, not one in seven years, and some not one in twelve years, as the parishes have declared to the

The bishops, who were sure of Elizabeth's countenance in persecuting Puritans, could not trust to be supported if they meddled with the other side; and it was not till her present alarm that the Queen was roused to

preachers that lately came thither to preach. Few churches have their quarter sermons according to the Queen Majesty's injunctions.

'In Boxgrave is a very fair church, and therein is neither parson, vicar, nor curate, but a sorry reader.

'In the Deanery of Medhurst there are some beneficed men which did preach in Queen Mary's days, and now do not nor will not, and yet keep their livings.

'Others be fostered in gentlemen's houses, and some betwixt Sussex and Hampshire, and are hinderers of true religion and do not minister. Others come not at their parish church nor receive the Holy Communion at Easter; but at that time get them out of the country until that feast be passed and return not again until then.

'They have many books that were made beyond the seas and they have them there with the first; for exhibitioners goeth out of that shire and diocese unto them beyond the seas. As to Mr Stapleton, who, being excommunicated by the Bishop, did fly and avoid the realm, these men have his goods and send him money for them.

'In the church of Arundel certain altars do stand yet still to the offence of the godly which murmur and speak much against the same.

'They have yet in the diocese in many places thereof images hidden and other Popish ornaments ready to set up the mass again within 24 hours' warning, as in the town of Battle and in the parish of Lindefield, where they be yet very blind and superstitious.

'In the town of Battle, where a preacher doth come and speak anything against the Pope's doctrine, they will not abide, but get them out of the church.

'In many places they keep yet their chalices, looking to have mass again, whereas they were commanded to turn them into communion cups after our fashion, keeping yet weight for weight. Some parishes feign that their chalices were stolen away, and therefore they ministered in glasses and profane goblets.

'In many places the people cannot yet say their commandments, and in some not the articles of their belief.

'In the cathedral church of Chichester there be very few preachers resident—of thirty-one prebendaries scarcely four or five.

'Few of the aldermen of Chichester be of a good religion, but are vehemently suspected to favour the Pope's doctrine; and yet they be justices of the peace.'—*MSS. Domestic, Rolls House.*

a conviction that she could no longer halt safely between two opinions.

In the neighbourhood of London the Commission was not ill received. A few magistrates here and there hesitated at the bond from 'scrupulosity of conscience,' but all were ready to give securities for their allegiance, and to renew their oaths to the Queen 'as their lawful sovereign.'

The experiment was far more critical in the Northern Counties, where the mere rumour of the intention was so much fresh fuel on the fire. There, in their unanimity of opposition, the people were unconscious of the strength of Protestantism elsewhere, and they despised as well as hated it.

Doctor Morton, after the breaking up of the assembly at Topcliff, travelled rapidly about the country to ascertain the general feeling on the difficulty which had arisen. He had been, or professed to have been, in other parts of the island as well, and to have learnt the universal sentiments of the English nation. On his return old Norton and many others again repaired to the Earl of Northumberland. They had gone so far, they said, that they could not go back, and they must either rise or 'fly the realm.' 'It would be a great discredit to leave off so godly an enterprise; all England was looking to see what they would do, and would assist when the first blow was struck.'[1] Father Morton followed to the same purpose. As to the excommunication, he said they ought rather to prevent it than wait for it: unless

[1] Northumberland's confession; *Border MSS.*

the government was changed the Pope would proceed with the censures, and then not only their souls would be in danger, but the independence of England might be lost also.[1] He implored them to delay no longer, but to take arms at once for their country, their Saviour, and their Church. The Duke of Norfolk had failed them, but they were happy in the loss of his support. With Norfolk for an ally they could have risen only for the settlement of the succession; they could now touch the hearts of every Christian Englishman by declaring themselves the defenders of the ancient faith.[2]

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[1] 'Doctor Morton said that the Christian princes, through the Pope's persuasion, would seek to subvert us if we did not seek to reform it within ourselves; affirming that he had travelled through the most part of England, and did find the most part of the common people much inclined thereto if so be that any one would begin to take the enterprise in hand.' —Francis Norton to Leicester and Cecil. *Flanders MSS. Rolls House.*

With the laudable desire of simplifying the study of the MSS. in the Record Office, the keepers have divided them into groups according to the country to which they are supposed to refer. In illustration of the utility of this arrangement, the student of the history of the Northern Rebellion must look first in the collection called the Border Papers, because the action lay chiefly in Yorkshire and Northumberland. When the movement surges across the Tweed the traces in the Border Papers are lost, and he must turn to the series for Scotland. To fill out his picture he must refer to a separate collection, supposed to be devoted to the Queen of Scots. For the opinions so supremely important of the English ministers he must look to their correspondence under the head of Ireland, Germany, France, or Italy. The confessions of the important prisoners are in the *Domestic* Papers, because they were tried in London, and the account of the same scenes given for instance by Francis Norton is to be found in the Flanders Papers, because he escaped to the Duke of Alva. The general result has been hitherto hopeless confusion; the classification however is now to some extent rectified in the calendars of the Master of the Rolls.

[2] 'Our first purpose was the establishment of the succession. Since

The priest's eloquence was not entirely successful. The temper of the south of England was known only 'upon conjectures.' Northumberland wrote to various friends, but 'was answered with such coldness as misliked him.'[1] In the autumn fairs in Yorkshire, men formed and gathered in knots and groups, and the air was full of uneasy 'expectations of change.' Still nothing was done. Lord Derby, among others, was ominously silent, which, as Northumberland said, 'greatly discouraged him.' The Queen of Scots and Don Guerau equally recommended quiet.

Meanwhile Lord Sussex, who was established at York as President of the council, was anxiously watching the condition of the Northern districts. As a friend of Norfolk, Sussex had been counted upon by the Confederates as likely to be favourable to them. In their altered position they were less able to tell what to expect from him. At the beginning of October he invited the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland to York, to give him the benefit of their advice. Wishing to feel his temper they immediately complied;[2] and they found at once that he had not the slightest disposition towards disloyalty. The Norfolk marriage was talked over. They both assured him 'that they would never stand to any matters that should be to her Ma-

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the apprehension of the Duke of Norfolk the setting up of religion, meaning Papistry, is our purpose.' —Declaration of George Tongue, November 8: *Border MSS.*

[1] Northumberland's confession: *Border MSS.*

[2] Sussex to Sir George Bowes, October 9: *Memorials of the Rebellion of* 1569.

jesty's displeasure or against her surety;'[1] and Sussex believed them and allowed them to return to their houses. Reports reached him afterwards that they had taken arms, and that the country was up; but he ascertained that their stables were more than usually empty, that there were no signs of preparation in their establishments, and that at least for the present no danger was to be apprehended. He had a narrow escape of falling a victim to his confidence. Assured of the popular feeling on their side, the Earls believed that if they could seize York and make themselves masters of the local government, Lord Derby and the other waverers would no longer hesitate to join them. It was proposed that Northumberland with a few hundred horse should make a sudden dart upon the city some Sunday morning, lie concealed in the woods till the bell 'left knolling for sermon,' and then ride in, stop the doors of the cathedral, and take President and council prisoners. 'Treason' however had a terrible sound to an English nobleman. They reflected 'that the thing might cause bloodshed,' and so 'passed it over;'[2] waiting till circumstances came to their assistance and decided their course for them.

Their names were often mentioned in the examinations which followed on Norfolk's arrest; and it came out that they had been in correspondence with Don Guerau. The Queen required their presence in London, and though Sussex doubted the prudence of sending for

[1] Sussex to the Queen, October 30: *Border MSS.*

[2] Northumberland's confession: Ibid.

them till the winter was further advanced, Elizabeth was peremptory, and insisted that they should come to her without delay.

The two noblemen whose names were to acquire a brief distinction were by position and family the hereditary leaders of the North—it may be said the hereditary chiefs of English revolution. Northumberland was the descendant of the great Earl who had given the throne to the House of Lancaster. His father, Sir Thomas Percy, had been attainted and executed after the Pilgrimage of Grace, but the confiscated estates were restored to the old house by Queen Mary, and the young Earl had come back to his inheritance amidst the passionate enthusiasm of a people to whom the Percies had been more than their sovereign.

The Earl of Westmoreland was the head of the great House of Neville, from a younger branch of which had sprung Warwick, the King-maker. He was the great-grandson of Stafford, Duke of Buckingham. He had married a sister of the Duke of Norfolk. No shield in England showed prouder quarterings, and no family had played a grander part in the feudal era of England.

Had the personal character of either of these great lords been equal to their lineage, they too might have changed a dynasty, and it was with no unreasonable misgivings that Sussex prepared to obey his mistress's commands. There was not a single nobleman in the North on whom he felt that he could rely. The Earl of Cumberland was 'a crazed man,' and his tenants were under the

leadership of Leonard Dacres, who had married his sister. The Earl of Derby, though said to be 'soft,' was a Catholic at heart, and 'the five lords' were generally spoken of as likely, if not certain, to support each other.

The Queen's orders found the Earls at Raby. Westmoreland at once refused to obey. November. 'Evil rumours,' he said, 'had been spread abroad about him and carried to the Court. He did not care to trust himself away from his friends;'[1] and as an intimation that he did not intend to be taken without resistance, he reviewed his retainers under arms.[2] Northumberland varied his answer by saying that he was busy and for the present could not comply, but he returned to Topcliff 'determined not to rise,' and meaning, or believing that he meant, to go up to London in the winter.[3]

Sir George Bowes however sent word to Sussex that mischief was gathering; and Sussex, terrified at his own weakness, wrote to Elizabeth to say that, although he would 'do his part' if she required him to take the Earls prisoners, he recommended her to overlook their disobedience, and 'call them home to her favour.'[4] He was disinclined to Cecil and Cecil's policy. He preferred the old order of things to the new. Like the rest of the old peers, he was in favour of the Queen of

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[1] Sussex to the Queen, November 8.

[2] November 6.

[3] Confession of Thomas Bishop: *MSS. Hatfield.*

[4] Sussex to the Queen, November 8; Sussex to Cecil, same date: *MSS. Border.*

Scots' succession; and without a disloyal thought, he sympathized, to some extent at least, with the Earls' dissatisfaction.

To compose matters if possible before receiving further positive directions, he sent his secretary to Topcliff to persuade Northumberland to go to the Queen at once. Northumberland answered that he had 'not been well used,' made many objections, but 'in the end' seemed to yield, and promised to prepare for his journey. It appeared however that Catholic hopes and Catholic fanaticism had been stirred too deeply. There was a natural fear that the Queen had discovered the whole plot, and the Countess Anne[1] was made of harder stuff than her husband. The secretary was detained at Topcliff for some hours while his horses were resting; at midnight[2] a message came to bid him haste away or it would be the worse for him; while a servant, who had come probably no farther than from the Countess's apartment, woke Northumberland from his first sleep with the news that, 'within an hour Sir Oswald Wolstrop would be upon him to carry him muffled to Elizabeth.' The Earl sprang from his bed, ordered his horses to be saddled, the bridge over the Swale to be broken, and the church bells to be rung backwards. The jangled sound broke on the ears of Sussex's emissary as he rode out of the town. His guide, when he asked what it meant, 'sighed, and answered, he was afraid it was to raise the country.'[3]

[1] Daughter of Somerset Earl of Worcester and niece of Lord Montague.

[2] November 9.

[3] Sussex to the Queen, November 10: *MSS. Border.*

The cry was out that 'the Pope had summoned England once: he was about to summon it again, and then it would be lawful to rise against the Queen, for the Pope was head of the Church.'[1] By the morning bodies of armed men were seen streaming from all points upon the road to Raby. Northumberland himself, old Norton and his sons, Captain Reed, who had commanded the Bolton guard, with twenty of his harquebuss-men, Markinfield, Swinburn, and a hundred other gentlemen, made their way to the Earl of Westmoreland. The country was covered with flying peasants, driving their cattle before them for fear of plunder, and with scattered bands of insurgents who were seeking for arms. Irresolute still, Northumberland had meant to go first to Alnwick whatever else might follow. Before he left Topcliff he addressed a few weak words to Elizabeth, 'protesting that he never intended any disloyal act towards her;' 'begging her of her mercy to take compassion of his miserable state and condition,' to listen to no false reports of him, and 'to send him some comfort, that he might repair to her presence.'[2] But he was drawn with the rest to Raby, where he and they were to decide whether they would fight or fly, or submit. There, two days after, at a general council, the question was once more discussed. They were all uncertain; the Nortons were divided among themselves, Northumberland and Swinburn were inclining to make for Flanders, and there was no resolution anywhere.

[1] Evans to the Council, November 8: Ibid.

[2] Northumberland to the Queen, November 13 (*sic*): *Border MSS.* The date is obviously wrong. The Earl left Topcliff on the 10th.

They had all but broken up, and 'departed, every man to provide for himself,' when Lady Westmoreland, Lord Surrey's daughter, threw herself among them, 'weeping bitterly,' and crying 'that they and their country were shamed for ever, and that they would seek holes to creep into.' The lady's courage put spirit into the men. There was still one more chance: while they were debating, a pursuivant came from Sussex requiring the Earls, for the last time, to return to their allegiance. If they were falsely accused to the Queen, Sussex said that their friends would stand by them. If they had slipped, their friends would intercede for them.'[1] But it was now too late. Northumberland proposed to go on to Alnwick, raise his people there, and join the others on the Tyne; but the Nortons and the other gentlemen would not allow him to leave them. The pursuivant was detained till he could carry back a fuller answer than could be expressed in words; and at four o'clock the following afternoon, Sunday, the 14th of November, as the twilight was darkening, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Sir Christofer, and Sir Cuthbert Neville, and old Richard Norton entered the city of Durham. With sixty followers armed to the teeth behind them, they strode into the cathedral; Norton with a massive gold crucifix hanging from his neck, and carrying the old banner of the Pilgrimage, the cross and streamers and the five wounds. They 'overthrew the communion board;' they tore the English Bible and Prayer-book to pieces, the

[1] Sussex to the Earls, November 13: *Memorials of the Rebellion.*

ancient altar-stone was taken from a rubbish heap where it had been thrown, and solemnly replaced, and the holy water vessel was restored at the west door; and then, amidst tears, embraces, prayers, and thanksgivings, the organ pealed out, the candles and torches were lighted, and mass was heard once more in the long-desecrated edifice.

'Tell your master what you have seen,' Northumberland said to the messenger, when it was over. 'Bid him use no further persuasions; our lives are in danger, and if we are to lose them, we will lose them in the field.'[1]

The first step once ventured there was no more hesitation. On Monday morning they moved south, to Darlington, gathering force like a snow-ball, and with herald's voice and written proclamation, at cross road and village green, in town hall and pulpit, they made known their intentions to the world, and appealed to the religious conscience of the people. 'They intended no hurt to the Queen's Majesty nor her good subjects,' they said; 'but inasmuch as the order of things in the Church and matters of religion were set forth and used contrary to the ancient and Catholic faith, their purpose was to reduce all the said causes of religion to the ancient custom and usage, and therein they desired all good people to take their part.'[2] Sussex could do nothing to

[1] Sussex to Elizabeth, November 15: *MSS. Border*.

[2] Proclamation of the Earls, November 15: *Memorials of the Rebellion*. The form was afterwards slightly varied, running thus:—'We, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, the Queen's true and faithful subjects, to all the same of the old Roman Catholic faith. Know ye that we with many others well disposed, as well of the

arrest the movement. He sent out a Commission to assemble the 'force of the shire;' but if it came together he feared that it would be more likely to go over to the rebels than fight for the Queen; could he trust the levies otherwise, he had no money to pay them with; and Yorkshiremen, as Sir George Bowes had to warn him, would never serve without wages.'[1] Slow, perplexed, irresolute, the same at York as he had been six years before in his unlucky command in Ireland, Sussex could see nothing but the uselessness of resistance, and recommended Elizabeth to come to terms, if possible, with the insurgent leaders. 'If the rebels prepare to fight,' he wrote, 'they will make religion their ground; and what force they may have in that cause, and how faintly the most part of the country that go with me will fight against that cause, and what treason may be wrought against mine own force for that cause, I know not. But truly, and upon my duty to your Majesty, I have great cause to doubt much of every of them, and

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nobility as others, have promised our faith to the furtherance of this sure good meaning. Forasmuch as divers disordered and ill-disposed persons about the Queen's Majesty have by their crafty and subtle dealing, to advance themselves, overthrown in the realm the true and Catholic religion, and by the same abuseth the Queen, dishonoureth the realm, and now lastly seeketh to procure the destruction of the nobility: We therefore have gathered ourselves together to resist force by force, and rather by the help of God and of you good people, to reduce these things amiss, with the restoring of all ancient customs and liberties to God and this noble realm. And lastly, if we shall not do it ourselves, we might be reformed by strangers, to the great hazard of the state of this our country, whereunto we are all bound. God save the Queen.'—Proclamation of the Earls, November 19: *MSS. Border.*

[1] Bowes to Sussex, November 17.

so I do indeed. Your Majesty must consider whether it shall be greater surety for you to pardon these Earls their part taken and their offences past, to call them to attend at your Court, where you may be sure from any practice, and this winter to purge this country and the other parts of the realm of the ill-affected; and so to avoid the danger of foreign aid and make all sure at home; or else to hazard battle against desperate men, with soldiers that fight against their conscience.

'If it come to the fight, either God shall give you the victory, or if any man will stand with me, you shall find my carcase on the ground, whatever the rest of my company do; for besides my duty to your Majesty, I will, for my conscience' sake, spend all my lives, if I had a thousand, against all the world that shall draw sword against our religion; but I find all the wisest Protestants affected that you should offer mercy before you try the sword.'[1]

The Earls understood thoroughly that for the time the game was in their hands. They advanced straight and steadily southwards, their numbers varying or variously reported as from eight to fifteen thousand, among whom were two thousand horse well armed and appointed. The only regular troops in the Presidency were on the Border in garrison at Berwick or Carlisle, or in the Middle Marches with Sir John Foster. Both Sussex and Cecil wrote pressingly that some of these soldiers should be sent to York; but they could not be

[1] Sussex to the Queen, November 15: *MSS. Border.*

spared from their posts. The Earl of Murray had proposed in August to set in order the Scotch Border. It will be remembered that Elizabeth, just then in pique at Murray for refusing to receive back his sister, had ordered the Wardens, if the Regent molested any gentlemen inclined to Mary Stuart, to receive and protect them. The Kers and the Scotts were thus left undisturbed, and 'the Earls had so practised with them that the Wardens had more need of men themselves than were able to spare any to send elsewhere;'[1] Northumberland had been in communication through the autumn 'with all the dangerous lords and gentlemen' between Forth and Tweed; the powder-train of the general conspiracy had been laid throughout the island wherever Mary Stuart had a friend.

Sir George Bowes flung himself into Barncastle, with a few score servants and followers. Lord Darcy held Pomfret, and trusted faintly that if the Queen would send him money he might be able to stop the passage over the Don. But there was no force anywhere which could meet the rebels in the field. On the 19th they were at Ripon, on the 20th at Knaresborough and Borrowbridge, on the 23rd they had passed York. Their main body was at Wetherby and Tadcaster, their advanced horse were far down across the Ouse.[2] The barns were full, the farm-yards well stocked; the cattle which had fattened in the summer were not yet fallen off in flesh, and food was abundant. They moved on at

[1] Forster to Bowes, November 25: *Memorials of the Rebellion.*

[2] Sussex to the Queen, November 24: *Border MSS.*

leisure, intending to make first for Tutbury and release the Queen of Scots, and then either advance to London or wait for a corresponding movement in the South. To make the ground sure and to open a port through which the expected succours could reach them from Alva, by a side movement they secured Hartlepool. They sent letters to every person of rank whom they expected to find on their side. Misinterpreting the inaction of Sussex, they supposed that he was waiting only for the plea of constraint to join their party. They had avoided York on their advance, to prevent a collision, and they wrote to beg him to make common cause with them.[1] To Lord Derby they wrote saying that, 'because he was wise they needed not persuade with him' of the necessity of their rising; they knew 'his zeal for God's true religion'—they knew 'his care for conserving the ancient nobility;' they trusted that he would lose no time in joining his forces to theirs:[2] while to commit before the world the other noblemen whom they believed to be with them in heart, they set out a manifesto, relating as much as suited their purpose of the proceedings of the council during the past year. 'The succession to the crown was dangerously and uncertainly depending through the many pretended titles.' 'For the avoiding of bloodshed and other subversions of the commonwealth,' the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, with divers others of the old nobility, had determined to make

[1] Sussex to the Queen, November 26: *MSS. Border.*

[2] The Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland to the Earl of Derby, November 27: *Burghley Papers*, vol. i.

known and understood of all persons to whom the right did indeed appertain. 'This their good and honourable purpose had been prevented by certain common enemies to the realm, near about the Queen's person.' They were themselves in danger from 'sinister devices' which could only be avoided by the sword. They had therefore taken arms and committed themselves and their cause to Almighty God.[1]

The next step was to secure Mary Stuart. Their advanced camp was little more than fifty miles from Tutbury. Lord Northumberland proposed to go forward suddenly and rapidly with a small party. Lord Wharton and two of the Lowthers agreed to join him either on the road or at Burton or Tutbury, and so they hoped to carry the castle by surprise.[2]

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[1] Manifesto of the Earls: *Burghley Papers*, vol. i. Northumberland had great hopes from this manifesto, as well as from the previous proclamation. 'Our assembly,' he said, 'was for reformation of religion and preservation of the second person, the Queen of Scots, the right heir, if want should be of the issue of her Majesty's body. Which two causes I made full account were greatly pursued by the most part of the noblemen within the realm, and especially for God's true religion. Yea, I was in hope both the Earl of Leicester and my Lord of Burghley had been blessed with some godly inspiration by this time of day to have discerned cheese from chalk, the matter being so evidently discovered by the learned Divines of our time.'—Confession of the Earl of Northumberland: *Border MSS.*

[2] 'For that you write that the enterprise of the chief purpose is resolutely upon the Earl of Northumberland to be attempted and that the enterprisers are desirous of my company,—this I offer, that appoint me a day and I will meet with four good horses at Burton or Tutbury, there to perform with the foremost man or else to die. And to the furtherance thereof the Lord Wharton and my brother will join. For coming to you upon an hour's warning with their whole power it is not possible, but they will not fail to win with you in passing. Let nothing persuade you but that the Lord

Happily before the enterprise could be executed the Queen of Scots was beyond their reach. When the news that the Earls had risen came first to London, Elizabeth failed to comprehend the meaning of the danger. She could not believe that an insurrection on such a scale could have started suddenly out of the ground. She distrusted Sussex's judgment and half distrusted his loyalty. She insisted that he could have put down the disturbance at the first moment had he cared to do so, and she resented and seemed chiefly concerned about the expense to which she would be exposed. 'The Earls,' she said, 'were old in blood but poor in force;' and, evidently unconscious that a lost battle might be the loss of the realm, she declared that she would send down no pardons, and Sussex must restore order with the means already at his disposal.[1]

She wished to deceive herself, and she had those at her ear who were too ready to assist her. Leonard

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Wharton and Richard Lowther are and will be always with you.'—Lowther to the Earl of Westmoreland: *MSS. Border.*

[1] Elizabeth did not realize that the Yorkshire levies could not be depended on. 'Good Mr Secretary,' Sussex wrote in answer to Cecil, 'give advice that the sparing of a little money in the beginning be not repented hereafter, and therefore send some good force that ye may surely trust to in these parts. To be short with you, he is a rare bird that by one means or other hath not some of his with the two Earls or in his heart wisheth not well to the cause they pretend. Seeing what groweth in all the realm by this matter, I wish heartily the Queen's Majesty should quench the fire at the beginning, either by pardon or force; and if by force, then not to trust these parts, lest by one foil taken much may be hazarded.'—Sussex to Cecil, November 20: *MSS. Border.*

Dacres, when he separated from the Earls, after their disappointment about Norfolk, had returned to London. Either the Queen had sent for him as she sent for others, and he had thought it prudent to comply, or, not expecting a rising, he had gone up on business of his own. To anticipate the arrest which he had reason to look for, he sought and obtained an audience. With the address of which he was an accomplished master, he satisfied Elizabeth of his fidelity, which he assured her that he was only anxious to display in the field. The name of Dacres in the North was worth an army.

The Queen listened graciously. Norfolk being now under a cloud, she promised Dacres favour in his suit for the estates, and he went down to Naworth with a formal commission to raise whatever force he could collect, and with instructions to join Lord Scrope at Carlisle. Dacres, who was a far abler man than either of the Earls, believed them to have made a foolish mistake. He sent them word that if Scrope took the field, he would go with him 'till he came in sight of their powers,' and 'then set upon him and overthrow him;' and this undoubtedly he meant to do, if the rebellion wore a complexion of success. But he had his own interests to look to also. He was not the man to commit himself to a falling cause; and he might well think he could do better service to religion and Mary Stuart if he could secure his peerage and his inheritance by remaining loyal. At all events, he had misled the Queen as to the force which she had to depend on. He

had secured his friends time, and so far had given them their best chance of success.[1]

Elizabeth's other measures were not more effective. To save the cost of sending troops from London, Lord Rutland, a boy of thirteen, was directed to call out the musters in Nottinghamshire, and put himself at their head. Sir Ralph Sadler and Thomas Cecil were ordered down to take charge of him, and to see especially that the young Earl while on duty went diligently to church.[2] Spies offered their services, which were eagerly accepted. A Captain Stully volunteered to go among the insurgents, learn their secrets, divide and betray them.[3] A more dangerous person, who will be heard of again, Sir Robert Constable, undertook for a high bribe the same work.[4] With such precautions as these the Queen imagined that the rebellion could be safely encountered. The one substantial precaution which she thought necessary was to join Lord Hunsdon in command with Sussex.

Meanwhile Don Guerau believed that the long-wished-for time was come. The Earl of Southampton and Lord Montague sent to consult him whether they should call out the Catholics in their own counties, or cross the Channel and endeavour to bring back Alva

[1] Notes of the proceedings of Leonard Dacres, March 4, 1570: *MSS. Border*. Witherington's confession, January 19: Ibid.

[2] Cecil to Sadler, November 20: *Sadler Papers*, vol. ii.

[3] Bedford to Sadler, November 21: *Sadler Papers*, vol. ii.

[4] Constable was Westmoreland's cousin; a man whose sympathy with the rebellion would be accepted without suspicion, and therefore the fitter for the purpose. He was grandson of Constable of Flamborough, the friend of Aske, who was executed after the Pilgrimage of Grace.

with them.[1] The ambassador declined to advise, and they did nothing; but other gentlemen hurried over with the news of the rising. Though Philip had been cold, he had left the Duke free to act if there was an opportunity; and so confident was Don Guerau that he would not allow the occasion to pass, that he sent word to the Earls that if they could but keep a single seaport open, they would have assistance in a fortnight. 'Never,' he told Philip, 'was there a fairer chance of punishing the men who had so long insulted Spain, or of restoring the Catholic religion.'[2]

All turned at that moment on the success of the adventure at Tutbury. Had the Queen of Scots reached the camp of the rebels, Southampton, Montague, Morley, Worcester, in all likelihood the Earl of Derby, would have immediately risen. Alva had a fleet already collected in Zealand with guns and powder on board; and he was understood to be waiting only to hear that she was at liberty, to launch them upon England. If reports which reached Cecil spoke true, it was even arranged that the members of the infamous Blood Council would accompany the expedition to assist the Catholics in their expected revenge;[3] and La Mothe

[1] 'Milord Montagu y el Conde de Southampton me enviáron á decir si les aconsejaba que tomasen las armas ó pasasen á V^a Excellencia, y les dixe que no podia darles consejo hasta tener la orden conveniente para ello.'—Don Guerau to the Duke of Alva, December 1: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] Don Guerau to Philip, November 20: *MSS. Simancas.*

[3] 'Le Duc d'Alva a eu entendement avecques quelqu'ungs Seigneurs d'Angleterre, et il les a promis assistance à l'encontre da la Reyne et la religion, pour quelle fin ledict Duc avoit faict apprester en Holland et Zeeland certain nombre de navires, les quelles sont deia equippez et

Fénelon congratulated himself that England was about to taste the same calamities which France had been suffering for years through English intrigues.[1]

Fortunately for Elizabeth, Lord Hunsdon reached the North in time to remove her delusions. He was at Doncaster on the 20th of November, where he found that the rebels were in force between him and Sussex. Accompanied by Sadler he made his way to Hull, and thence he passed round at the rear of them to York, while he sent back word that not a day was to be lost in pushing up troops from London, and that the Queen of Scots must be removed from Tutbury, or she would without doubt be carried off.[2]

Shrewsbury had received a similar warning and made such preparations for his defence as circumstances allowed. Huntingdon, who was at no great distance, rejoined him at his own request. If the castle was attacked in force, they felt both of them that it could not be held, but it would stand a siege for a day or two, and they took precautions not to be surprised. A mounted guard patrolled the woods at night, and the

grande preparation de beaucoup de grande artillerie y sont amenez. L'ung de ses filz estoit appointé pour y venir avecques ung nombre de gens jusques à quelque havre au pais de Norfolk, entre lesquelles estoient quelques Espagnolz conseilleurs appointez, à sçavoir la conseille de Sang, comme ils sont au Pais Bas Inquisiteurs qui auroient faict detestables et horribles punitions et dechirations du peuple.'—— to Cecil, December 8. From Brussels: *MSS. Hatfield.*

[1] La Mothe au Roy, November 25: *Dépêches*, vol. ii.

[2] The Earls intend to go through withal. Their meaning is to take the Scottish Queen, and therefore, for God's sake, let her not remain where she is, for their greatest force are horsemen.'—Hunsdon to Cecil, November 20: *MSS. Border.*

Queen of Scots herself was carefully kept in sight. She had affected illness and had desired to be alone; but Shrewsbury by this time understood her and felt more suspicion than alarm.

So matters stood with them when Westmoreland was arranging his plans for her rescue. Another day or night would have seen the attempt made, for the Earls knew how much depended on it; but, on the 23rd of November, a courier dashed in from London with an order for the Queen of Scots' instant removal to Coventry. It was a delicate matter to take her anywhere. 'The more she was seen and acquainted with, the greater the danger.' The commission too had been sent to Huntingdon alone, and Shrewsbury's pride was again wounded at the seeming distrust. He refused to leave his charge, irritating Huntingdon by implying a doubt that the Queen of Scots' life would not be safe with him. In this humour they got to horse together, took their prisoner between them, with a mounted escort of four hundred men, and so made their best speed to Warwickshire. They rode into Coventry 'at night, to avoid the fond gaze and confluence of the people.' They had been ordered to prevent Mary Stuart from being seen or spoken to, but their precautions were useless. No preparations had been made to receive them, and they were obliged to take her to an inn too small to admit more than her personal attendants, and too public to enable them to seclude her from sight. At Coventry, as everywhere else, she found a mysterious body of friends devoted heart and soul to her, and 'going up

and down the town with full powers to practise. 'Shrewsbury continued cold, distant, and resentful;' and Huntingdon, who found the contents of his most secret despatches were in some way carried to her ears, could not but feel a wish that she was safe in Nottingham Castle rather than in an open town, especially as he knew that dangerous influences were at work upon Elizabeth and doubted how far she would resist them.[2]

December. He had good reason for uneasiness. Norfolk, more than ever uneasy at his imprisonment, when the revolution seemed likely to be accomplished and the fruits of it snatched from himself, plied Elizabeth with passionate entreaties for forgiveness. He professed a horror at 'the enterprise of the rebel Earls.' For himself, he swore that he 'had never dealt with them, either for religion, title, or succession,' and that he had never entertained an undutiful thought towards herself.[3] At the same time he was endeavouring with vows and promises to re-establish himself in the affections of Mary Stuart, and she in turn was bewitching him with assurances of eternal fidelity, declaring herself[4] to be waiting only for his directions, care-

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[1] Huntingdon to Cecil.

[2] 'I am sorry to understand such objections as you write be many times made against good counsels given by true-affected councillors. God amend that fault wheresoever it be, or else our country and sovereign shall taste, I fear, of sharper storms from the North, or perhaps from some other coast, than doth yet blow. God give all councillors such hearts as in their counsels they may unfeignedly in simplicity and truth seek his glory, our country's weal, and Sovereign's surety. December 9:' *MSS. Hatfield.*

[3] Norfolk to Elizabeth, December 5: *Burghley Papers*, vol. i.

[4] 'When you say to me you will be to me as I will, then you shall

less of dangers and ready, if he could extricate himself, to slip through the hands of her own keepers.

While the two principals were thus engaged, the Bishop of Ross was besieging Leicester, and through Leicester the ears of Elizabeth. The Bishop of Ross, with every fibre of the conspiracy in his hands, could carry to the council the smoothest aspect of innocence. He could affect to grieve over the disturbances which he had himself assisted to kindle, and wind up with a lamentation over the dangers of his mistress, and entreat that she might be allowed to fly from the storms which were threatening to overwhelm her. His mistress, he said, had preferred the friendship of the Queen of England to that of the 'most puissant of princes.' She had chosen her out and clung to her as the sole support of her misfortunes; her Majesty should return love for love and let her go.[1]

Elizabeth's suspicions of the Queen of Scots had happily been stirred too deeply, and neither the advice

remain mine own good Lord, as you subscribed once with God's grace, and I will remain yours faithfully. Neither weal nor woe shall remove me from you if you cast me not away.'—Mary Stuart to Norfolk, December —: LABANOFF, vol. iii.

[1] 'Let her Majesty remember,' he wrote to Leicester, 'what great commendations and immortal fame many kings and princes have purchased for themselves for benefit, aid, and support bestowed on other princes being in like distress. Abraham delivered his brother Lot. Cyrus set free the Jews from their captivity. Evil Merodach delivered Joachim, King of Judah, forth of prison. The Romans restored Masinissa, King of Numidia, and did not noble Cordela (*sic*) set up again in the royal throne of Britain her father, driven from thence by his two other unkind and unnatural daughters? Would not her Majesty in like manner have pity on one who was at once her sister, daughter, friend?'—The Bishop of Ross to Leicester, November 28: *MSS.* QUEEN OF SCOTS.

of fools or traitors, nor Norfolk's mendacity, nor the eloquence of the Bishop of Ross, could charm her now into a false security.

Meantime the Earls had missed their chance and had lost the game in missing it. Mary Stuart once beyond their reach, there was no longer any fear from Alva. The Southern noblemen let the time for action go by, and the rebel Earls, after waiting three days about Tadcaster, turned back upon their steps. They had expected that all England would rise to meet them. The universal tranquillity was not disturbed. The Earl of Derby, instead of rising, forwarded to Elizabeth the letters with which they had tempted his loyalty. Montague and Southampton waited for Alva, and Alva would not move till Mary Stuart was free. They had no money; the road to London was open, but they were unwilling to irritate the people by feeding their men upon plunder; and even could they reach London, they doubted their power to carry it by a *coup de main*, and to besiege it would be beyond their power. Like the Pilgrims of Grace, they halted in their first success, and in halting lost all.[1]

Their plan was now to hold the north of Yorkshire, Durham, and Northumberland, and wait to be attacked. They thought of assaulting York, but they doubted whether they could take it without guns. There would be danger to their friends in the town, and though Westmoreland, who saw more clearly than the others

[1] La Mothe, December 27: *Dépêches*, vol. ii.

the necessity of doing something important, was in favour of the attempt, he was alone in his opinion.[1]

Lord Sussex had deserved more credit than he was likely to receive. His brother, Sir Egremont Radcliffe, had joined the insurgent army, giving a show of colour to the Queen's suspicions. But when Hunsdon and Sadler arrived they found that he had done as much as he could in prudence have ventured. He had collected within the walls almost three thousand men. He had not led them against the rebels because 'they wished better to the enemy's cause than to the Queen's.' But as Elizabeth believed that he had been wilfully inactive, Sadler ventured to tell her 'that there were not ten gentlemen in Yorkshire that did allow her proceedings in the cause of religion.' 'When one member of a family was with Sussex, another was with the Earls.'[2] 'The cause was great and dangerous,' and Sussex had done loyally and wisely in refusing to risk a battle. If only their own lives were at stake, both he himself and Hunsdon and Sussex would try their fortunes, even 'with the untrusty soldiers they had;' but 'should they receive one overthrow the sequel would be so dangerous as it was better for the Queen to spend a great deal of treasure than they should give that adventure.'[3]

Sussex therefore had acted well and wisely in sitting still behind the walls of York. Had the Queen of

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[1] Bishop's Confession: *MSS. Hatfield.* Confession of Christofer Norton, April 1570: *MSS. Domestic, Rolls House.*

[2] Sadler to Cecil, December 6: *Sadler Papers*, vol. ii.

[3] Sadler to Cecil, December 3: *Border MSS.*

Scots been released his caution would have availed him little; the war would have rolled south and have left him behind: but it was necessary to risk something, and events worked for him. Money came in at last, though in small quantities and grudgingly given. The soldiers in the city were paid up and grew better tempered. 'The discreet began to mislike the insurrection,' 'the wealthy to be afraid of spoil.' At the first stir 'there were few or none of the citizens that were not more addicted to the rebels than to the Queen,' and there was not a cannon or a cartridge in the town. Sussex kept them all quiet, brought guns and powder up from Hull, threw up bulwarks, did everything better than could have been expected from his first fears and his commonplace character. Hunsdon was able to say 'that if Sussex's diligence and carefulness had not been great, her Majesty had neither had York nor Yorkshire any longer at her devotion: he wished to God her Majesty knew all his doings: she would know how good a subject she had.'[1]

By this time the Court was thoroughly alarmed, and a Southern force was on the move. Lord Pembroke replied to the Earls' manifesto with disclaiming all sympathy with them or their object. He had ever been a true subject, he said, and he did not mean in his old age to spot his former life with disloyalty. He declared himself ready and willing to serve anywhere and against any enemy.[2] With graceful confidence the Queen ac-

[1] Hunsdon to Cecil, November 26: *MSS. Border.*

[2] Pembroke to the Queen, December 5: *Burghley Papers*, vol. i.

cepted Pembroke's services, and named him at once general of an army of reserve which was to assemble at Windsor.[1] Southampton and Montague, partly perhaps in fear, partly with worse intentions, made an effort to escape abroad. They had sailed, but were driven back by a storm. The Queen heard of it: to disarm treason by not affecting to see it, she gave Montague the command of the south coast, and joined Lord Bedford in commission with him, as a security against his betraying his trust.[2] By these and similar measures the insurrectionary spirit was subdued everywhere but in the North. So far as England was concerned generally, the rebellion had flashed in the pan. The Catholic leaders were taken by surprise, separated by long distances, and unable to concert any common plan of action. They distrusted one another, they doubted whether they would be supported from abroad, and at last it appeared were unwilling to move without direct instructions from Philip;[3] while Philip on his side—in such letters as

[1] 'The Queen will have an army here of 15,000 men by the 10th of December, whereof the Lord Pembroke shall be general.'—Cecil to Sadler: *Sadler Papers*, vol. ii. It was to be composed of levies from Essex, Kent, Sussex, Hants, Oxfordshire, Bedfordshire, Wilts, and Somerset.—*MSS. Domestic*, November, 1569.

[2] 'Estuvó ya Milord Montague con su yerno el Conde de Southampton embarcado para ir á Flandes, y por tiempos contrarios se hubó de volver á desembarcar, y legandose un mandamiento de esta Serenissima Reyna, no rehusó de volver á la Corte y purgarse desta fama, y salido con ellos le diéron el gobierno del Condado de Sussex.'—Don Guerau á Su Magestad, December 18: *MSS. Simancas.*

[3] 'De los que estan confederados ningunos han hecho aun movimiento porque estan espargidos, pero entre si estan consultando de la forma de levantarse.'—Don Guerau to Alva, December 1. And again, three weeks later:—'Estan sin osarse fiar los unos de los otros. Parece que

came in from him—would only say that they must do nothing unless they were certain of success.[1]

A proclamation was now sent down and issued at York, promising a free pardon to all the rebels except the two Earls and ten others, on condition of their immediately laying down their arms. Lord Clinton went into Lincolnshire, Lord Warwick and Lord Hereford into the Midland Counties, to collect a force to relieve Sussex; and by the end of November two bodies of 4000 men each were converging rapidly upon Doncaster.

Warwick was crippled with gout and only half recovered from the wound which he had received at Havre, but 'thinking himself the unhappiest man living if he should not be in place to venture his life against the rebels;'[2] while ships left Sheerness, some to cruise in the Channel, some to lie off Hartlepool, in case the Spaniards should attempt to cross.

On the 26th of November the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland were proclaimed traitors at Windsor. Northumberland was a Knight of the Garter. On Sunday the 27th, a fortnight after the mass in Durham Cathedral, the Heralds and the Knight Marshal went in procession to St George's Chapel. Rouge Cross read the sentence of degradation from a ladder against

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aguardan á entender si V. Magd será servido de darles favor.'—Don Guerau to Philip, December 20.

[1] 'Mas han de mirar mucho como lo emprender, pues si errassse el hecho eran todos perdidos, y vos hecisteis muy bien en remitirlos al Duque de Alva.'—Philip to Don Guerau, November 18.

[2] Warwick to Cecil, December 3: *MSS. Domestic.*

the wall. Chester 'hurled down with violence the Earl's banner of arms to the ground, his sword, his crest, and then his helmet and mantle;' while Garter, waiting below, 'spurned them with like violence from the place where they had fallen, out of the west door of the Chapel, and thence clean out of the uttermost gates of the Castle.'[1]

Three days later the rebel army was broken up. The men scattered about Yorkshire in parties of two and three hundred, 'spoiling' for want of other means to feed themselves. Sussex kept close within the walls of York, and let them pursue their retreat unmolested. The Earls divided: Northumberland went straight back to Durham, sending his own people before him to fortify Alnwick. Westmoreland paused at Barncastle, where a brief success revived his failing spirits. Sir George Bowes was in the castle with 800 men. The Berwick garrison had made an effort to relieve him, but had been unable to leave the Borders. He was scantily provided with arms, and had so little powder that he durst not waste it. Westmoreland had brought falconets and other small fieldpieces with him, and as Bowes was short of provisions besides his other deficiencies, Sussex sent him word that he had better let his 'horse' cut their way out at night and make their way to York, and himself hold the keep till relief could reach him. The horse escaped as Sussex directed, but Bowes himself was less fortunate. The garrison muti-

[1] *MSS. Domestic*, November, 1569.

nied. The men leapt over the walls by twenty and thirty at a time. Two hundred of 'the best disposed' who were on guard went out openly through the gates and joined the insurgents, and as those who remained showed signs of intending to follow them, Bowes was obliged to surrender, stipulating only to be allowed to go where he would.

Westmoreland refortified the castle, left a party there to hold it, and went to Raby.[1] Vain of his solitary capture, he expected that the tide would now turn he anticipated, from the behaviour of Bowes's followers, that the Queen's troops, which were coming up so slowly, had no intention of fighting, and that if they were forced into the field they would pass over to his side.[2] But a few days undeceived him. The evil signs remained unchanged. Dacres was at Carlisle with Scrope, and sent word that if the object of the insurrection was to marry Norfolk to the Queen of Scots, he would have nothing to do with it.[3] The gentlemen grew cold and dropped off one by one. Even Westmoreland's own men refused 'to serve without wages;' and Sir Robert Constable, the spy, who had joined him, contrived 'to spread such terror among them as he trusted there

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[1] Raby Castle was described at this time 'as a marvellous huge house of building with three wards builded all of stone and covered with lead.' The country round was bleak and untimbered; 'nor the castle itself of any strength, but like a monstrous old abbey which would soon decay if it was not repaired.'—Sadler to Cecil, December 2: *Memorials of the Rebellion.*

[2] Constable to Sadler, December 16: *Sadler Papers*, vol. ii.

[3] Confession of Bishop: *MSS Hatfield.*

would be no need of stroke or shot.' Constable had been directed 'to sow sedition among the rebels, discourage, divide, and disperse them,' and to 'spare no money' in the process. For such purposes Elizabeth was generous, and he did his work effectually.[1] The garrison which had been left at Hartlepool strained their eyes for the sails of Alva's fleet, but they saw instead only the ships of the Queen, which, as the weather served, drew in upon the shore and sent long shots among them. The harbour, even had Alva been willing, would not have answered the purpose, for it was dry at low water, and vessels of large burden could not enter it in ordinary high tides.[2]

It was useless to wait longer. Barncastle was again deserted, Hartlepool was evacuated, and so much of the insurgent force as held together was reassembled in Durham in the middle of December. There, as the solitary result of their movement, they could still hear mass in the Cathedral, but the Almighty Power whom they had hoped to propitiate had not interfered in their favour. About 4000 were said to be now remaining in arms, but among these 'mistrust' was spreading, and a fear that the Earls would steal away and leave them to their fate.[3]

Meanwhile Clinton and Warwick were advancing on their several routes. They had been long on their way, for the 'roads were foul and miry.' 'The men

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[1] Constable to Sadler, December 14: *Sadler Papers*, vol. ii.

[2] Sussex to the Council, December 11: *MSS. Border.*

[3] *Cotton. MSS.* CALIG. B. ix. f. 488.

were wearied with marching in armour,' and could move only five or six miles a day. On the 10th of December Clinton was at Doncaster. He too was short of money, and was disappointed in his expectations of finding supplies waiting for him there.[1] But the soldiers were loyal and were contented with promises. He pushed on, leaving accounts to be settled afterwards, and on the 13th met Warwick at Wetherby.

Together they had now 11,000 men, all well appointed, in high spirits, 'and eager to encounter the rebels if they would abide.'

This however it seemed now unlikely that the rebels would venture to do. The object was rather to prevent their flight; and Scrope, reassured by the apparent loyalty of Leonard Dacres, moved out from Carlisle to intercept them on their way to the Borders. To have allowed such a proceeding without obstruction, in the heart of his own country, would have ruined Dacres's popularity. He did not interfere himself, but

[1] Elizabeth was in such a humour about expenses that every penny for the regular service had been doled out reluctantly. Every despatch for the different commanders contained a statement of their necessities. Cecil had to write in return that they must spend as little as possible. 'There was much ado to procure money. Her Majesty was much grieved at her charges.' Cecil's position made him write with reserve. Sir H. Radcliffe, another brother of Sussex, who was with the Queen at Windsor, expressed himself in plainer language.

'If your Lordship,' he wrote to the President, 'lack there the supplies promised, you must bear them and do what you may otherwise; and if some here with us bear glances or overthrusts we must not understand them. Neither shall your Lordship receive this supply, though but small, which might have either ended, or at least mitigated, the matter by this time.'—Sir H. Radcliffe to Sussex, December 10: *Cotton. MSS.* Calig. B. ix.

he gave a hint to two of his brothers, and Scrope had no sooner marched out of Carlisle than he was recalled by the discovery of a plot to seize the castle and murder the Bishop, in whose care it had been left. He could not venture to leave his charge with mischief at his own door; though unable to quarrel with Dacres he durst not trust him, and was forced to remain upon the watch.

Thus, if the worst came to the worst, the passage into Scotland was still open, and with the possibility of escape, the irresolution of the Earls increased. On the 17th the Queen's army was at Ripon. Lord Westmoreland still held the fords and bridges of the Tees, and there if anywhere a stand was to be made. Northumberland had returned to his friends, and divided, disheartened, and with dwindled numbers, the rebels held a council at Durham to decide whether they should fight or fly. Westmoreland had some courage, and sufficient sense to know, that insurrection, if it meant anything, meant battle. In the Earl of Northumberland the blood of Hotspur had cooled to the passive temperature, which could suffer, but could not act. Except for his wife, who never left his side, he would more than once have thrown himself upon Elizabeth's clemency;[1] and now, with some remains of loyalty about him, he shrunk from crossing swords with the soldiers. He had imagined that he had but to appear

[1] 'His wife being the stouter of the two, doth harden and encourage him to persevere, and rideth up and down with the army, so as the grey mare is the better horse.'—Hunsdon to Cecil, November 26; *MSS. Border.*

in the field for all England to welcome him. He had looked rather for a triumphant procession to London than to a rebellion which was to cost blood. 'He had not taken arms to fight against his mistress,' he said, but only in defence of his life, and to remonstrate against the misgovernment of his country.

In Percy's weakness the hope of rebellion was for the present ended. Five weeks before, the Earls had entered Durham with their priests and banners, to reinstate the kingdom of the saints. They had to leave it now in scandalous discomfiture, for the tide of heresy to flow once more behind them. They could not count their cause lost; the majority of the English nation, if measured by numbers, was still enormously in their favour. But for the moment, the powers of evil were in the ascendant, and there was nothing left for them to do but to save their lives. The smaller gentlemen made for their homes, trusting to their insignificance to conceal the part which they had taken. The Earls and the more conspicuous leaders went off for Liddisdale, and the first act of the great Catholic conspiracy was over.

The Queen's troops followed swift on their retreating footsteps. There were now but a few score of them holding together; the two noblemen, their ladies, the Nortons, Markinfield, Swinburn, and their servants. The weather had changed; a blasting north wind swept over the moors, with snow and sleet lashing in their faces.[1] Beyond Hexham they were turned by

[1] The hard weather lasted into January, and among the minor incidents of the rebellion there is a touching account of the consequent

Sir John Foster, and doubled back with an intention of hiding among the wolds. But Clinton's cavalry were on the Tyne, led by Sir Edward Horsey, the sworn brother of the Channel pirates, who, railing at the cowardice which, having begun a rebellion, would not stand to fight it out, was eager to serve what he called God with the free use of rope and gallows.[1] At Horsey's side was Thomas Cecil, for whose loose ways his father once thought the Bastile the only cure; and who now 'having,' as he said, 'adventured his carcase' in the Queen's service, was looking to fill his pockets from the profits of the expected confiscations.[2] The

sufferings of two little daughters of the Earl of Northumberland, whom he had left behind him at Topcliff. Their uncle, Sir Henry Percy, who remained loyal, passing by three weeks after Christmas, reported to Sussex, 'that he had found the young ladies in hard case, for neither had they any provisions nor one penny to relieve themselves with.' 'They would gladly be removed,' he said; 'their want of fire is so great, and their years may not well suffer that lack.'—Sir H. Percy to Sussex, January 9: *Memorials of the Rebellion.*

There was 'sharp execution' done at Topcliff before Percy's visit, and the poor children, as they looked shivering out of their window, must have seen some scores of their father's servants hanging on the trees about the house.

[1] 'Even as they have frowardly and villanously begun a lewd enterprise, so have they beastly and cowardly performed the same. The bruit of her Majesty's army drawing near did so appal their hearts as made them rather yield their heads unto a halter than by fight persist in their vile and detestable quarrel. I beseech Almighty God that her Majesty may take such order as the punishment of these rebels may be example to all others in this age. I would not have thought to have found any corner in England where God and the Queen is so little acknowledged,—the which now by your Honour's good order may be redressed.'—Edward Horsey to Cecil, December 22: *MSS. Domestic.*

[2] Before the rebellion was over, and without waiting to know what the Queen would do, he applied for the administration of the estate of the Nortons.—Thomas Cecil to Sir William Cecil, December 23: *MSS. Domestic.*

Yorkshiremen themselves had turned upon the Earls in their failure, and were now crying round Clinton, 'Hang them that will not live and die with you.'[1] There was no possibility of return, and again turning their horses northward, on the night of the 20th the fugitives found shelter and a few hours' rest at Naworth. There however there was no remaining for them; Dacres was in no humour to compromise himself for men whose views he disliked and whose rashness and weakness had ruined the Catholic cause. The forlorn party, dwindled now to three ladies and twenty men, were again off before daybreak in the snow, and wind, and darkness.

Across the Border they were safe from their English pursuers; but their case was scarcely mended. They had poor hospitality to expect from Murray, and they had to seek a refuge among the outlaws and moss-troopers who had been the companions of the crimes of Bothwell. Black Ormiston, one of the murderers of Darnley, John of the Side, a noted Border thief, and others, opened their hiding-places to them. But among these vagabonds there was little honour. The Regent was at Jedburgh. One of the Elliotts, who was in danger of hanging, and wished to earn his pardon, laid a plot to take them. They were hunted out again, and it was then found that 'the Liddisdale men had stolen the ladies' horses.' The Countess of Northumberland had to be left behind at John of the Side's house, a

[1] Sussex to Cecil, December 22: *MSS. Border.*

place described 'as not to be compared to an English dog-kennel.' Lord Westmoreland, 'to be the more unknown,' exchanged his gay dress for the outlaw's greasy breeks and jerkin, and he and his companions spent their Christmas in the caves and peat-holes in the woods of Harlaw and the Debateable Land, till their more powerful Scottish friends could take measures for their relief.[1]

While Clinton and Warwick were thus hunting the insurgents out of the country, Chapin Vitelli, in London, seeing the Catholics cut so poor a figure, was little disposed to encourage his master in going to war for them. Elizabeth was so suspicious of him, that at one time she sent him an order to leave the country;[2] but he struggled on, doing his best to propitiate her, holding out hopes that if she would make up matters with Spain, Spain would assist her in recovering Calais; and, if he produced little effect upon the Queen, he succeeded in seriously alarming the French ambassador. La Mothe Fénelon, to sound perhaps the real intentions of the Spaniards, said to Don Guerau, that if he could do anything to assist the Earls, he would himself heartily co-operate with him. Don Guerau coldly excused himself;[3] and La Mothe, more afraid than ever that a re-

[1] Sussex to Cecil, December 22 (midnight): *Border MSS.*

[2] Don Guerau to Alva, December 1.

[3] 'El Embajador del Rey Christianissimo me vinó á visitar y decir que si yo podia favorescer á estos en esta justa causa que por parte de su Rey me seria buen compañero, sin celos y sospecha alguna; yo me escusé con decir que no tenia mandamiento de su Magestad sobre ello.' —Don Guerau to Alva, December 1.

conciliation between England and Spain would arise out of the Earls' defeat, began in turn to pay court to Elizabeth, and endeavoured to outbid Vitelli in offers of friendship. The English Catholics had made an effort to overthrow the Reformation; and, as a result of it, the ministers of the Catholic Powers were contending for the smiles of the heretic Sovereign. She knew the value of their advances. She judged rightly that her differences with Spain were deeper rooted than any which could exist with a country which was half of it Huguenot. She remained cold to Chapin. She accepted graciously the advances of La Mothe; and she spoke to him long and confidentially on the condition of Christendom. With tears in her eyes, she protested that she had not deserved the rebellion. For her relations with the Continent, she desired only that neither her own subjects should assist in creating trouble elsewhere, nor French or Spanish Catholics encourage insurrection in England. She spoke with horror of bloodshed. Except for her honour's sake, she said, she would have already pardoned the Earls, and she hoped they would of themselves abandon their enterprise.

La Mothe observed that while there were differences of religion, Europe could never be quiet.

Elizabeth admitted in answer that between the Pope's pretended power to absolve subjects from their allegiance and the Protestant theory of the right of subjects to depose their sovereigns, Governments had a bad time before them. It was time to do something, and she would

gladly come to some understanding with other sovereigns on these matters. As to the reunion of Christendom, there was nothing for which she was more anxious. There would be no difficulty with her. She had told Cardinal Chatillon that whatever he and his party might think of the abomination of going to mass, she would herself sooner have heard a thousand than have caused the least of the million villanies which had been committed on account of it.[1]

Remarkable words, throwing the truest light now attainable upon the spiritual convictions of Elizabeth. They might be called wise from the modern point of view, to which varieties of religious forms seem like words in different languages expressing the same idea. For men to kill each other about a piece of bread appears, when so stated, the supreme culmination of human folly. Yet Knox and Coligny were, after all, more right than the Queen of England. The idol was nothing, and the thing offered to the idol was nothing; but the mass in the sixteenth century meant the stake, the rack, the gibbet, the Inquisition dungeons, the Devil enthroned upon the judgment-seat of the world, with steel, cord, and fire to execute his sentences.

Chapin meanwhile continued to sue for an agree-

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[1] 'Et quant à chercher l'union de l'Église, Dieu sçavoit qu'elle avoit souvent envoyé devers l'Empereur pour l'en soliciter, et qu'elle ne s'y randroit jamais opiniastre; mesmes avoit dict à M. le Cardinal Chatillon que quoique on tint en leur religion pour une grande abomination d'aller à la Messe, qu'elle aymeroit mieulx en avoir ouy mille que d'avoir esté cause de la moindre méchanceté d'ung million qui s'estoient commises par ces troubles.'—La Mothe au Roy, December 10: *Dépêches*, vol. ii.

ment with Spain, and made no progress. He offered terms, the details of which are not preserved, but terms so favourable to England as to be humiliating to the Catholic King. The more pliant Philip appeared the more Elizabeth distrusted him. To make him see that she had no fears she discussed each condition with laboured prolixity: at length she said she would write to Philip, and desired the minister to be the bearer of her letter. Chapin asked permission to send to Alva for advice; the rebellion was made an excuse for refusing his request; and, desperate at length of effecting anything whatever by negotiation, he found means to let Alva know that the English Government was inveterately hostile, and that without a revolution the two countries could never be brought together again.[1]

It was a conclusion which both Philip and Alva were most reluctant to accept. In Philip's correspondence there is visible an extreme fear lest any representative of Spain should be found implicated in treason and conspiracy, an extreme dislike of encouraging or meddling with seditious persons, however unimpeachable their orthodoxy. The sympathies of Alva were on the side always of order, law, and government. He disapproved of heresy, but it was a question with him whether rebellion was not a greater crime. Such a loose, heedless, and ill-concerted movement as that of the two Earls seemed utterly contemptible to him. He owed his success as a general to prudence as well as

[1] La Mothe au Roy, December 27: *Dépêches*, vol. ii.

courage. He was never known to trust to chance in any single point which care could anticipate; and till he saw some effective action among the English Catholics, besides rhetoric and fine promises, he was ill-inclined to risk the presence of his troops among them.[1] Chapin's message reached the ears of La Mothe, and probably therefore the ears of the Queen. He was again required to leave the country, and, as the order was persisted in, he was this time obliged to obey. Elizabeth merely told him that when the King of Spain would write to her under his own hand she would be willing to renew the negotiation. Meantime things remained as they were. Alva and Philip kept their hold on the little English property which they had arrested. Elizabeth kept the treasure, the ever-increasing piles of Spanish and Flemish goods, the ever-multiplying fleets of Spanish and Flemish merchantmen, with which her warehouses and her ports were choking.

The insurrection having exploded ineffectually, it remained to punish those who had taken part in it. But before relating the measures which the Government believed to be necessary, it remains to mention one

[1] An expression of Philip's in one of his letters to Don Guerau shows that he thought particular care was necessary in dealing with English people: he was vain of his knowledge of the national character, and guided himself by consideration of its peculiarities:—'Por tanto fué bien no abriros vos con ellos (los Catolicos) ni alargaros á prometerles lo que os pedian, sin remitirlos al Duque; y de la misma manera procedereis en lo que mas occurriese tocante á semejantes materias, por ser de qualidad que requieren tratarse con mucho miramiento y consideracion, y mayormente con los desta nacion que de su natural son sospechosos en todo tiempo y mucho mas en la ocasion presente.'—Philip to Don Guerau, December 26: *MSS. Simancas.*

more cause which had contributed to the failure of the enterprise. So many plans had intercrossed that no two parties understood each other. The Spaniards, the French, the Duke of Norfolk, the Queen of Scots, the council, had all been playing with separate schemes, and the best of the Catholics, who cared simply for the restoration of the faith, had shrunk from risking their cause upon a movement with the purpose of which they were so obscurely acquainted. Lincolnshire, which had been the scene of the first Catholic insurrection against Henry VIII., was found by Lord Clinton entirely apathetic. Yet Lincolnshire had not been converted to the Reformation, and the behaviour of the people there is explained by a singular address from 'the knights and gentlemen' of that county to Philip II. It is described as having been largely signed among them, and represents without doubt the feeling of a very large portion of the Catholic party in England.

'They looked to Philip,' these persons said, 'as the Prince who had the chief right to their crown, being at once the most Catholic in himself and the most able to defend and maintain the Catholic religion. He had borne the title of King of England. His name was on the English statute-book, and to him they now looked as their liege lord and sovereign.[1] They entreated his

[1] 'Comme le Prince du monde qui tient droict et peult avoir droict et titre à la couronne d'Angleterre, comme le plus Catholique et le plus puissant Prince qui les peult défendre et secourer en la foy Catholique; et en ces deux endroicts ils se submettent leurs vies et biens à Vre Majté en toutz respectz et conditions, comme partient à Seigneurs et Noblesse qui tient Vre Majté pour leur Prince et Souveraign.'

Majesty not to suspect or look strangely upon this expression of their feeling towards him. His Majesty might already understand their reason for it; but in the service of God and the Commonwealth, they would briefly explain themselves.

'Your Majesty,' they said, 'knows well the many rights and titles which are pretended to the crown of this country, and in what peril we all live by reason of them. The succession is claimed by the Earls of Huntingdon and Hertford and other notorious and ambitious heretics, with how little ground, either of justice or strength, appearing manifestly from the quarrels among themselves. Your Majesty knows also the right which is pretended by the Queen of Scots, and the many persons among us who support her claim. We acknowledge both her rights and her deserts as a most virtuous and Catholic Princess, and we are ready to accept her as our Sovereign, if your Majesty will place her on the throne, with due securities for the Catholic religion and for the maintenance of the ancient alliance between the Houses of Burgundy and England. But we are of opinion that if the Queen of Scots be set up by ourselves only in this island, her Majesty may marry some heretic either by compulsion or else for love,[1] and by this means, our country being infected as it is, she may become her husband's thrall, and we and England be thus ruined for ever. That there is but too much likelihood of this, your Majesty may perceive

[1] 'Par amour.'

from the purpose of marriage between her and the Duke of Norfolk, while it may be also that she will prefer her old friends in France and Scotland to the prejudice and entire destruction of the connection with the House of Burgundy, which thing we are determined at all costs not to endure.

'The Prince her son is in the hands of heretics, and is educated in the heretic belief. We fear that he cannot be extricated from among them, save on conditions which will be dangerous to the Catholic religion and dangerous to the English Commonwealth. We admit the right of the Queen of Scots because she is a Catholic, and as long as she survives, these inconveniences may seem the less to be feared; but should the Queen of Scots die at no distant time, the case is altered. The Prince her son will never be accepted by the Catholics unless your Majesty take him under your protection, and unless he becomes himself a Catholic.

'There are other matters also,' continued the unknown person[1] by whom the address was sent, 'on which it is unnecessary now to weary your Majesty. You will see how ardently these gentlemen devote themselves to your Highness, in God's service, as their only Prince and Protector. We desire, and all Catholics for their own safety ought to desire, to see the administration of their country in your Majesty's hands. The county which these gentlemen inhabit—

[1] The address was accompanied by a list of names which has not been preserved, and by a letter unsigned also, but professing to be one of the gentlemen by whom it was presented.

their names are in the list which we attach [1]—is called Lincolnshire. The position of it by land and sea is convenient, as your Majesty will perceive, for any enterprise which you may think proper to direct against the present Queen. Should your Majesty be unwilling to undertake anything in the present Queen's lifetime, yet in the event of her death, or of any other favourable contingency, we can point out to your Majesty by what means success may be assured, even before you put your hand to the work. We pray God it may please your Majesty to use the services of all and each of us according to your good will and power, to obtain an end so excellent in itself, so important to the service of God and the common weal of Christendom.' [2]

From this document it is evident that distrust of Mary, distrust of Norfolk, and the position of the little James, were paralyzing the energies of the Catholics. Unless Spain was openly at their head they would not move, and the collapse of the insurrection requires no further explanation. It did not imply that the Catholics generally were loyal to Elizabeth, but only that at the crisis of their trial they were smitten with confusion. Their faith was no longer a fire at white heat in which the units would fuse together into a compact and harmonious whole, but a cold opinion which left every

[1] List not preserved.

[2] Address in the names of the Knights and Gentlemen of Lincolnshire to Philip II.: *MSS. Simancas.* There is no date upon the MS. It belongs evidently to the year 1569, and was sent probably just before the insurrection, since in the letter there is a paragraph on the services to be expected from the Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland.

man to act for himself, subject to all deflections for his special ends, fancies, and temptations.

To return to the Border.

The Earls having escaped into Scotland, the Regent had now to meet the question, what was to be done with them? The rebellion was part of the general disturbance which was agitating both the realms. It had been plotted by the Bishop of Ross; and the Queen of Scots was the centre of it. In Murray's words, 'it had branches unknown, extending to the farthest marches of both the realms.'[1] Had Elizabeth fallen, Murray would have gone to the scaffold; and little reason as he had for feeling himself under obligations to her, his own interest was as deeply concerned as hers in extinguishing the last sparks of the conflagration.

Elizabeth would now undoubtedly require him to arrest the Earls, and circumstanced as he was he would find it no easy matter either to comply or to refuse.

The quarrel with Maitland had seriously shaken his hold on Scotland. The breach between these two men, who had once worked together so cordially, had now widened into an impassable chasm. They had no longer any single aim which they pursued in common.

Murray had but one principle which guided him in all that he undertook. He was heart and soul a Protestant. His feelings as a brother and a certain inbred generosity of temperament had more than once prevented him from consenting to measures which it might

[1] Murray to Cecil, December 22: *MSS. Scotland.*

have been wiser and better to have allowed to take their course. He was ambitious for his country, and he had felt perhaps more interest than he ought to have done in his sister's views upon the English succession; but from the time when he could no longer blind himself to her character, he had laid aside every inferior consideration, and had set himself steadily to maintain the cause for which he really cared.

To Maitland, on the other hand, the Reformation had been interesting so far and so far only as it promised political greatness to Scotland. His keen understanding had shown him that the union of the two kingdoms was inevitably approaching; and full of Scotch pride and Scotch traditions, his one hope was to end the long rivalry in the way most glorious to his own people, and to place a prince of Scotch blood on the throne of the Plantagenets. The person was of little moment to him. He had brought the English to Leith in the belief that Elizabeth would marry the Earl of Arran. When Elizabeth refused and the French King died, and Mary Stuart came back, his energies were then devoted to securing Mary Stuart's succession. When the Queen of Scots had seemingly wrecked her prospects by marrying Bothwell, he had assisted at the coronation of James, believing then that for her own sake Elizabeth would give him the place for which his mother had so long intrigued, and so pacify her own people and gratify Scotland through its pride.

But again Elizabeth disappointed him. Her theories of government, her sympathy with Mary Stuart's suf-

ferings, her dread of the misinterpretation of the world if she did not protect her, kept the question of questions still unsettled. Maitland now saw or thought he saw that the Queen of Scots must be eventually restored, and the discontent of the English Catholics, of the noblemen, and of the whole nation under an insecure and undetermined succession, opened a new opportunity to him through the Norfolk marriage. He had flung himself into the scheme with all his strength, careless where it would lead him, so only he could succeed in his great object. His knowledge, his powerful character, his intellectual cultivation, unusual in any age and unexampled in his own—above all the response in every Scotch breast to the aim which he was pursuing—gave him an influence which shook from Murray's side half of the best of his friends. Even the foolish ministers of the Kirk he had talked over—poor wretches who if he had succeeded would have been handed over to Alva's Blood Council. Knox only, who in mere worldly sagacity was Maitland's match, had been deaf to his persuasions.[1] He had divided the nobles. He had gained Hume and Athol, and, worse than all, the chivalrous Kirkaldy of Grange. He had fed everywhere a restless expectation of the Queen's return; and at length the Regent, being determined to check his intrigues, had arrested him, on the evidence of Paris and Crawford, as an accomplice with Bothwell. He demanded his trial, and the 22nd of November was fixed

[1] Maitland to Mary Stuart, August, 1569, intercepted ciphers: *MSS.* QUEEN OF SCOTS, *Rolls House.*

to give him an opportunity 'for the declaration of his innocency.' He wrote to every friend that he possessed, Catholic and Protestant, to request their presence, and when the day came Edinburgh was thronged with the armed retainers of half-a-hundred knights and noblemen who had come together to throw a shield over their favourite.

The Bishop of Ross and the historians who have followed him have charged Murray with personal ambition in assuming the government of Scotland. Never perhaps was there a position which any reasonable man would have less coveted. English statesmen in their calculation of the future of the country placed his murder among the most likely of contingencies. He had narrowly escaped at Northallerton on his return from the Conference. In the past July 'Lyon Herald' had 'conspired his death' and had been burnt for it.[1] At best he was set to rule the most lawless country in Europe except Ireland, half of it avowedly disaffected, without a revenue, without troops, without a man at his back except his own and his friends' servants. He was held responsible by Elizabeth for the peace of the Borders, yet she would not acknowledge him as Regent. At every turn of her fancy he was expected to be the instrument of her policy, and to receive his sister back either as his Queen or as his prisoner, as convenience or the humour of the moment happened to dictate. In such a position there was little to envy; and that

[1] CALDERWOOD.

supreme and commanding integrity, which alone made a tenure of power under such conditions possible, alone also could have tempted him to assume it.

Aware of the intended assembly of Maitland's party, he had quietly, with the Earl of Morton's assistance, collected a force large enough for his own protection if they tried to kill him. This done he showed 'no misliking of the Convocation.' He received every one who presented himself with his usual courtesy, but before opening the court he requested them all to meet him in the Council Room. There he reminded them briefly that when he was in France they had elected him to the Regency without his knowledge and against his will. He had sworn to administer justice faithfully during his government, and they on their part had promised to assist him in the execution of his office. They had now assembled in arms to prevent justice from being done, and he desired them to consider whether this was to observe their engagements. He had not interfered with their meeting; he had wished to show them that they could not frighten him; he had now merely to say that their further presence was unnecessary, as the trial would be postponed till it could be fairly conducted.[1]

The lords listened with such patience as they could command. They dispersed quietly, but Murray knew what their attitude boded. If the rebellion of the Earls gained head in England, they would immedi-

[1] Murray to Cecil, November 22: *MSS. Scotland.*

ately revolt. He sent word therefore to Elizabeth that he would assist her to the utmost of his power, and at once went down to the Border with all the men that he could collect. Thus it was that he came to be at Jedburgh when the Earls arrived in Scotland. The English army had halted on their own frontier, but a demand was sent from Berwick to the Regent requiring him to arrest and give them up. By the treaties between the two countries, traitors were excluded from protection, but this particular article had never been observed. The Scots were tenacious of their right of asylum, and especially sensitive when England attempted to violate it. The Border outlaws, who would plunder a church with the same indifference with which they would sack a farm-house, drive their neighbour's cattle, or cut his throat, regarded the protection of a fugitive on either side of the line as the one duty of which neglect was disgraceful. To fly in the face of such a feeling would have been extremely dangerous at any time, and at the existing crisis their ordinary jealousies were aggravated by the resentment of party. The Scotts, the Kers, the Maxwells, the Humes, the Hepburns, were all Catholics, all devoted to the Queen of Scots, all sympathizers with the English Earls. Murray asked whether he might look for any assistance from Elizabeth to enable him to maintain a regular force. He had no resources of his own for such a purpose. 'His own life was directly sought,' and as things stood, it was Elizabeth's interest to uphold him.[1] He

[1] Murray to Cecil, December 22 (midnight): *MSS. Scotland.*

might have foreseen the answer to such an application. Nevertheless, for the sake of the good cause, with a half-consciousness that he was sealing his fate in doing so, he determined to brave the popular feeling, and if he could not give up the Earls, at least to make them prisoners. Lady Northumberland had been left behind in the first haste of the flight. Her husband wished to rejoin her, and Hector Armstrong, Hector of Harlaw, whose name was ever after infamous in Border story, undertook to guide him. The Regent had notice where to look for him, and a party of horse were on the watch. He was taken somewhere in Liddisdale, not without a struggle. Some English borderers tried to rescue him, and Captain Borthwick, who commanded the Regent's troops, was killed, but the men did their duty, and the Earl was brought safely into Jedburgh.

Westmoreland and the Nortons, it might be thought, could have been taken more easily, for they were close under Murray's hand. Two miles up the valley through which the stream runs from which Jedburgh takes its name, on the crest of a bank which falls off precipitously to the water, stand the remains of Fernihurst, then the stronghold of the Kers. It was on a scale more resembling the feudal castles of the English nobles than the narrow towers in which the lords of Scotland commonly made their homes; and although the bugle-note blown upon the battlements could be heard in the market-place of the town, the laird of Fernihurst offered an asylum to the fugitives, and there the whole party, except Northumberland, was soon collected. The Regent sent to demand them. Fernihurst answered that if he

wanted them he must come to fetch them, and Murray, who had a strong force with him, made an effort to punish his insolence. But before Murray came in sight of the castle, his men deserted so fast, that out of eight hundred whom he took with him out of Jedburgh he had but two hundred remaining. It was a symptom too alarming to be neglected. Placing Northumberland on horseback in the middle of a party of troopers, he made straight for Edinburgh, and thence transporting him over the Forth, he sent him to occupy the rooms which Mary Stuart had left vacant in the island tower of Loch-leven. Nothing could have occurred more unfortunate for the Regent's influence; nothing that he could have done could have given him a stronger and more immediate claim on Elizabeth's support. Not the Border only but all Scotland was shaken. The national pride was touched, 'and there was a universal cry that, cost what it would, the Earl should not be given up. The liberty was broken which should be free to all banished men.'[1] Even Morton, who was Murray's main stay, declared that his country was disgraced. 'Between Berwick and Edinburgh the Regent could not find one man to stand by him,'[2] 'and where he had ten mortal enemies before, he had now a hundred.' Along Tweed and Teviot the indignation rose to madness. The hospitality of the Border had been consecrated by the practice of two hundred years,[3] and the fugitives at Ferni-

1570. January.

[1] Hunsdon to Cecil, December 31: *MSS. Border*.

[2] Hunsdon to Cecil, January 11: Ibid.

[3] 'Half Scotland is like to rise against the Regent,' wrote Sadler on

hurst, who had come there 'hunted and dismayed,' found themselves suddenly in better case than when they were at Durham, for they had a whole kingdom at their back, 'bent to succour them.'[1] Under these circumstances, if Elizabeth intended to persist in her demand for their extradition, it might have been expected that she would have ordered her army to advance into Scotland, to help the Regent to execute her wishes. Had she been as conscious as her ministers of the actual humour of England, she might perhaps have done so. Northumberland since his capture had spoken freely of the magnitude of the Catholic Confederacy. He had threatened the Regent with the vengeance of the whole English peerage if he gave him up; and Lord Hunsdon, too conscious of the breadth of the disaffection, warned his mistress that the troubles were not at an end, but only beginning. 'She should make no account of money.' 'If she looked not to the bottom of the matter, the sore would fester and break out worse than ever.' 'It would fall out to be the greatest conspiracy that had been in the realm for a hundred years.'[2] The Southern Catholics at that very moment, angry with themselves for their weakness, were

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the 9th of January: *MSS. Border.* 'The most part of the nobility,' wrote Hunsdon, 'do think it a great reproach and ignominy to the whole country to deliver any banished men to the slaughter, accounting it a liberty and freedom to all nations to succour banished men.'—Hunsdon to Elizabeth, January 13: *Memorials of the Rebellion.* And again: 'The Earl of Morton is bent for the maintenance of the rebels. He does account it a great shame and reproach to all the country in doing the contrary.'—Hunsdon to Cecil, January 11.

[1] Hunsdon to Cecil, January 11 *MSS. Border.*

[2] Hunsdon to Cecil, December 29: *MSS. Border.*

concerting fresh measures to renew the struggle. Southampton and Montague sent to the Spanish ambassador to beg him not to accept the Earl's discomfiture as an index of their real strength. They desired only that the Pope would relieve them of the uncertainty which had divided the North.[1] If the Pope would excommunicate Elizabeth and absolve them from their allegiance, they would not fail a second time. They would make arrangements beforehand that every man might know what was expected of him. They would then rise everywhere in a single day, and never rest till the Catholic religion was re-established.[2]

Elizabeth, not suspecting, or not choosing to suspect, the extent of treachery that was going on, believed that she could disarm conspiracy by seeming confidence;[3] yet with singular inconsistency, as will be presently seen, she was punishing the least guilty of the Northern rebels with a barbarity which could only be excused by her panic. She was bent upon getting the Earls into her hands, because she intended to try them and confiscate their estates, and she doubted whether, in their absence, she could carry their attainder through the House of Lords. At the same time she was quarrelling

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[1] 'Tan bien me ha dicho el obispo de Ross que los Catolicos de aqui desean que su Santidad con alguna Bulla publicada en parte que aqui se entendiese, los diese libres de juramento que á esta Reyna han hecho, por no ser ella Catolica y intitularse Cabeza desta Iglesia.'—Don Guerau to Philip, January 18: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] Ibid.

[3] 'Let her Majesty look well to herself and not think all gold that glitters.'—Hunsdon to Cecil, December 29.

with the expenses, and quarrelling with the most loyal of her council, whom she accused of having involved her in them. She listened, if she listened at all, to those 'back councillors' whom Cecil so much dreaded, and of whom he so unceasingly complained. Still insisting that Murray should deliver Northumberland to her, she insisted at the same time that, as the rebellion was over, her army should be immediately dismissed; and so hasty, so peremptory, she was on this last point, that Sussex was compelled to disband half the troops with no better pay 'than fair words and promises,' while Scotland was exasperated into fury, and three counties were being driven wild with wholesale executions, which were only so far discriminating that the poorest of the people were chosen to be sufferers.

The opinion of the want of wisdom which Elizabeth was displaying in these matters is not the presumptuous censure of the half-informed modern historian. The disapprobation must have gone deep, when Cecil could have so written about her conduct as to call out the following answer from her own cousin and her most faithful servant Hunsdon:—

LORD HUNSDON TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.[1]

'*Berwick, January* 13.

'I have received your letter of the 6th with a letter from her Majesty touching the Earl of Northumberland and the rebels, whereof you are not ignorant. I

[1] *Border MSS.*

was glad of the coming of the letters, because I looked long for them, and secondly, because I hoped for better news than I have therein found, and especially in yours, which hath so appalled me as I am almost senseless, considering the time, the necessity her Majesty hath of assured friends, the needfulness of good and sound counsel, and the small care it seems she hath of either. Either she is bewitched, or else this practice of her destruction which was meant should have taken place perforce and by arms, being burst out before the time, being partly discovered and a little overthrown, is meant to be performed by practice and policy. For what nearer way can there be to achieve to this purpose than to discredit her faithfullest councillors, and to absent her most assured friends from her, whereby they may work all things at their will? I will condemn none, but God send her Majesty to have trusty friends about her and to follow good counsel; for although the upper skin of this wound be partly healed, the wound festers, and if it burst out again I fear me it will be past cure. It grieves me to see that her Majesty cannot be induced to think well of those that serve her best.'

Considering that as yet not a single blow had been struck in the rebellion, and that the active violence had been confined to the bloodless capture of Barncastle, the work of vengeance which the council of York were unwillingly compelled to execute had been beyond example cruel. Though the leaders had escaped, many gentlemen had been taken in the closeness of the pursuit.

and the prisons at Durham and York were crowded with unfortunates who had straggled back to their homes, and had been denounced and arrested. It was the theory of the Constitution, sanctioned so far by immemorial custom, that the lands as well as the lives of traitors should be forfeited to the Crown. Under the feudal system estates were held under the Sovereign in consideration of active duties to be performed by the holder. Although military tenures were lapsing into more immediate and absolute ownership, yet security of property under the law involved as a matter of course obedience to the law, and, irrespective of higher considerations, all governments must be held entitled to indemnify themselves for the expense of repressing rebellion at the cost of those who have occasioned it. That the Crown in the present instance was entitled to avail itself of its right was implied in the nature of the case. Rebellions are never without pretexts which can be pleaded in their justification. The long peace which the country had enjoyed, the cessation of State prosecutions in so striking a contrast with their frequency in the previous reigns, the general prosperity of England contrasted with the confusion and anarchy of the continental kingdoms, gave the Queen a fair claim upon her subjects' loyalty. The Catholics had not been permitted the open exercise of their religion; but there had been no inquisitions, no meddling in private with the rights of conscience, no revenge for the Marian persecutions. Her sister's bishops had been deprived and imprisoned for refusing to take the oath of allegi-

ance, but the Government, wherever it had not been openly defied, had closed its eyes to the evasion of the law. The country was still full of Catholics, and the Protestant authorities had been prohibited from indulging their natural desire to punish them. In fact if not in theory there had been substantial toleration; and whatever may be thought now of the prohibition of the mass, the success in modern times of a more generous system is no proof that it would have answered amidst the passions of the Reformation.

It may be said that so far Elizabeth had governed the country extremely well and with extreme forbearance. In declining to marry she had indeed severely tried her subjects' patience, and the difficulty of choosing a successor from among the many competitors should have furnished an additional inducement to overcome her natural reluctance. If ever circumstances could be conceived which demanded a sacrifice of such a kind, the prospects of England in the event of Elizabeth's death left her in this respect without excuse. Yet towards the Queen of Scots, 'the daughter of debate,' who was the occasion of her worst perplexities, she had acted with a weakness which her loyal subjects had a right to condemn, but which, justly looked at, had left little ground for complaint to the friends of her rival. She had saved her life, and she had saved her honour, when she might have spared herself all further trouble on her account by publishing the proofs of her infamy. These proofs Northumberland and Westmoreland had seen, had admitted, and in the rebellion itself had never

ventured to challenge, yet they had committed the last and worst form of treason—they had invited a foreign army into the kingdom, imperilling the national independence as well as the throne of the Sovereign. There was nothing therefore except its bloodlessness in the circumstances of the rebellion which called for any particular leniency, and those who look back upon such a condition of things from times when the danger from similar combinations has long passed away, are apt to be misled by their natural compassion for sufferers, and from the instinctive sympathy with those who risk and lose their lives in a public cause.

It is equally certain however that there may be seen in the conduct of the Government at all times, and after all necessary allowance, the working of questionable passions; and the retribution inflicted upon the Northern insurgents shows undoubtedly that anger and avarice had for a time overclouded Elizabeth's character.

The complaints of the Queen about expense while the rebels were in the field had been incessant. Every letter which Cecil wrote contained some intimation or other of the extreme difficulty of getting money from her. After the flight and dispersion from Durham, orders were immediately sent down that 'some of the rascals should be hanged by martial law,'[1] but care was to be taken that none of the 'richer sort' should suffer in that way. Death by martial law would not

[1] Cecil to Sadler, December 20: *Sadler Papers*, vol. ii.

touch property, and the object was to make sure of the forfeitures.

Lord Sussex still received 'hard constructions' at the Court; 'he was supposed to have connived at the Earls' escape, and to have neglected precautions which would have prevented them from reaching Scotland.'[1] The Queen therefore determined to make him the instrument of her severity, and he was directed to make a list of all the principal persons known to have been with the rebels, or to have assisted them with armour, food, or money. These persons he was immediately to arrest. If he was anywhere at a loss, he might take men on suspicion. He was to commit them 'to strait prison,' 'and as need should be' 'pinch them with some lack of food and pain of imprisonment till they declared the names of as many as they could remember.' This done, on a given night, and at the same hour, there could be a general seizure; especial care being taken to apprehend 'all priests, constables, bailiffs, and others that had held any office.'[2] The fish thus netted were then to be sorted into two classes: 'of those who had no freeholds, copyholds, nor any substance of lands,' a sufficient number were to be selected, and to be immediately hanged by martial law in the parish green or market-place where the rebels had held their assemblies: the servants of any principal insurgent were to suffer also, the scene of their execution being the neigh-

[1] Cecil to Sadler, December 25.

[2] Cecil added in a separate clause: 'Some notable example to be made of the priests that have offended in this rebellion.'

bourhood of their masters' houses; and 'the bodies were not to be removed, but to remain till they fell to pieces where they hung.'

The rest were to be formally tried, that her Majesty might be duly assured of her escheats. If 'corruption or lucre' prevented a fair verdict—that is to say, if judgment was not given for the Crown—the prisoners were not to be released, but the trial adjourned to the Star Chamber.

'For the avoiding of desperation' a proclamation was sent out that any one who was not already taken and would surrender of his own accord might be received to mercy. But it was added that if those who had been culpable should fly from the country they should never receive pardon at all.[1]

The first part of these instructions was immediately acted upon. An indefinite number of unfortunate people were seized, and out of them six or seven hundred artisans, labourers, or poor tenant farmers were picked out for summary execution. Lord Sussex was scrupulous not 'to include any person that had inheritance or wealth, for that he knew the law.' Those were chosen whose worst crime was that they had followed the gentlemen who, by the constitution of the country, were their natural leaders, and these, besides 'the prisoners taken in the field,' were to be distributed about Yorkshire and hanged. 'He meant to use such discretion,' he said, 'as that no sort should escape for example, and

[1] Notes for the suppression of the rebellion, December 31, 1569.

that the example should be, as was necessary, very great.'[1]

If the seventy persons hanged in hot blood after the fight at Carlisle be not included, the number of persons executed after the Pilgrimage of Grace did not exceed two hundred, and among those 'the common sort' were not represented. The tendency of a Government to be harsh is in the ratio of its weakness; and Elizabeth, to whom nothing naturally was more distasteful than cruelty, when Sussex's arrangements were made known to her, was only impatient that they should be completed. There had been some delay, perhaps in determining the spots where the executions were to be. She wrote on the 11th of January that 'she somewhat marvelled that she had as yet heard nothing from Sussex of any execution done by martial law as was appointed.' She required him, 'if the same was not already done, to proceed thereto with all the expedition he might, and to certify her of his doings therein.'[2] Sussex had no need of the spur, and had been only too anxious to clear himself of suspicions of disloyalty. Before the letter reached him the victims had been made over to the Provost Marshal. Sir George Bowes, who had undertaken to superintend the process, was stringing them leisurely upon the trees in the towns and village greens. Eighty were hanged at Durham, those chiefly who had taken a part in the Catholic jubilee at the Cathedral. Forty suffered at Darlington, and twenty of Bowes's

[1] Sussex to Cecil, December 28: *MSS. Border.*

[2] Elizabeth to Sussex, January 11: *MSS. Border.*

own deserters on the walls at Barncastle. It is some relief to find that the wives and children of those who were executed 'were favourably dealt with;' orders were given that 'not only they should have no cause to complain, but should be satisfied'—whatever that might mean.[1] But the hanging business itself went on rapidly and mercilessly; 'the lingering bred offence;' and on the 23rd of January, Bowes reported that he had put to death 'about six hundred' besides those who had been disposed of by Sussex.

Among contemporary engravings representing the condition of Europe at this period, may be seen pictures, intended to excite the pity and the passions of the Protestants, representing the scenes in the French and Flemish towns when they were taken by the Catholic troops. There is death in all its horrors; men torn in pieces by wild horses, children tossed to and fro upon the soldiers' pikes, families perishing amidst their own blazing houses. But chiefly noticeable are long rows of what once were living men, artisans and tradesmen, in their simple working dresses, dangling in seemingly infinite numbers as far as the eye can follow them down the narrowing streets. A hundred Huguenots were murdered in France for every Catholic in England. But in those Northern villages there were spectacles of the same description. The difference was in the degree of the cruelty, not in its kind. Sir George Bowes reported 'that the people were in marvellous fear,' and that the

[1] Bowes to Sussex, January 8: *Memorials of the Rebellion.*

authors of the rebellion were cursed on every side.[1] But it was a fear which was accompanied with no sense of deserved suffering. Their condition, as described by a correspondent of Cecil's, was rather one of 'mad desperation,' and a passionate prayer for some turn of fortune which would give them their chance of revenge. They saw the gentlemen who were the occasions of the mischief spared—they knew not why. They saw themselves hunted down and destroyed as if they were wild beasts, and the effect of 'the example' was only to increase the likelihood of another insurrection.[2]

Still Elizabeth was not satisfied. She seemed possessed by a temper unlike any which she ever displayed before or after. When the martial law was over, she ordered the council of York 'to attaint all offenders that might be gotten by process or otherwise;' till at length the Crown prosecutor, Sir Thomas Gargrave, was obliged to tell her that if she were obeyed 'many places would be left naked of inhabitants;' 'the poor husbandman, if he was not a great Papist, could become a good subject,' and she would do well to grant

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[1] Sir George Bowes to Ralph Bowes, January 23: *Memorials of the Rebellion.*

[2] 'Though many have suffered and many are shorn to the bare pilch, yet because few or none of the gentlemen have tasted of judgment who only were the incentors to all, the danger is rather doubled than in any respect foredone.' — —— to Cecil, February 6: *MSS. Border.* In Northumberland, where Warwick commanded, there was comparative mercy. In Yorkshire and Durham the Catholics flattered themselves 'that the execution of so many poor men had hardened and exasperated the rest.'—La Mothe, January 21: *Dépêches*, vol. ii.

a general pardon, from which only a certain number should be excepted.[1]

The turn of those came next who had property to be escheated, and who were therefore to be dealt with less precipitately. With these an unexpected difficulty arose from the Palatinate rights of the Bishop of Durham. There was a fear that the forfeitures within 'the bishoprick' would fall to the See; and Sussex, wishing to so manage matters that the Queen 'should take a good and a long breath upon these northern gentlemen's lands,' suggested that she should either 'compound with the Bishop for his royalties,' or else translate him to some other diocese, when, in the vacancy of the See, 'all would grow to her Majesty.'[2]

Elizabeth would not have allowed a bishop to stand between her and 'her commodity,' and had the law stood as was at first supposed, she would have found her way through it somehow. But Sussex, it seems, was mistaken. Pilkington ventured a faint plea for himself. The Queen ordered him back to his duties, from which he had fled at the outbreak of the rebellion, and the law authorities ruled that in cases of high treason, by the 25th of Edward III., 'all forfeitures of escheats, in all places and under all circumstances, belonged to the Crown.'[3]

This objection being disposed of, a Special Commis-

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[1] Sir T. Gargrave to Cecil, February 6: *MSS. Border.*

[2] Sussex to Cecil, December 25: *MSS. Border.*

[3] *Border MSS.*, February 19, 1570.

sion sat at York, and the trials began. The most important of the prisoners were carried to London that their examinations might be taken by the council before their execution. Of the rest, a number of gentlemen were tried, of whom eleven were found guilty. Four of these were immediately put to death; seven were recommended to mercy for reasons which might not have been anticipated, but which, when mentioned, become intelligible.

The first, Henry Johnson, had married a daughter of old Norton. He was described as 'a simple person abused by his wife;' but he was not to be spared for 'his simplicity.' His estates were settled on his wife, 'so that by his life the Queen would have his lands, and by his death his wife would have them.'

Two others, Leonard Metcalf and Richard Claxton, were in the same predicament. They were both men of hitherto blameless conduct, but the argument in their favour was that the Government would lose by their execution.

John Markinfield, a boy under twenty, was attainted 'only to bring his title to his brother's lands to the Queen.'[1] 'It was not meant that he should die, for that he had no land.'

Ralph Coniers was a Protestant who had been led into the rebellion only by loyalty to the Earl of West-

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[1] The elder Markinfield, who had been one of the principal movers of the rebellion, was with Westmoreland at Fernihurst. If he was not given up he could be attainted by Parliament; but his brother had some right in the estates which his attainder would not touch.

moreland. He had only a life interest in his estates.

Richard Lambert, alone out of the seven, the Queen was advised to spare on the fair ground of good character.

The most singular argument for clemency was that which was urged in behalf of the last—Astolph Cleisby: he had no property, and there was thus no special incentive for his execution; Lord Hunsdon's son, Henry Carey, once thought of for the Queen of Scots, was a suitor for one of the three daughters and co-heiresses of Lord Coniers. It was conceived that Cleisby, 'being in great credit with all the sisters,' 'might assist if his life was spared in bringing about the match.'[1]

After some hesitation Elizabeth admitted the recommendations, and all the seven were spared.[2] Two sons of old Norton and two of his brothers, after long and close cross-questioning in the Tower, were tried and convicted at Westminster. Two of these Nortons were afterwards pardoned. Two, one of whom was Christofer, the poor youth who had been bewitched by the fair eyes of the Queen of Scots at Bolton, was put to death at Tyburn with the usual cruelties.

But so far, after all, the Queen had gained but little. The principles on which the gentlemen had been dealt with had not tended to satisfy the commons as to the equity of an administration which had hanged the poor

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[1] Proceedings of the Commission at York: *Memorials of the Rebellion.*

[2] It is interesting to observe that Henry Carey did not, after all, obtain the object of his wishes.—DUGDALE, vol. ii. p. 291: *Article* CONIERS.

without mercy, and spared the rich who misled them, when anything was to be gained by their lives; while the owners of the great estates which were to repay the expenses of the army were safe within the Scottish borders.

If they escaped abroad the Queen could not touch their lands without an Act of Parliament, and in the way of this there would be difficulties which she was earnest to avoid. She again wrote therefore to demand them of Murray; but Murray, had he been willing to comply, was evidently without the power, and she had to think of other means. If force was costly, treachery might be cheap. Sir Robert Constable has been seen once in the discharge of his dishonourable office. Still maintaining the character of a concealed friend, he followed his cousin to Fernihurst, where he was warmly received by the Laird and all the party. Both Westmoreland and old Norton complained of the cowardice of the Southern Catholics; and Constable, whose business was to tempt them if possible to come back to England and sue for their pardons, humoured their discontent, and began cautiously to suggest, that, instead of trusting to rebellion, they should try some other plan. Westmoreland was proud of his birth, proud of his honourable house, and he shrank with English sensitiveness from a taint upon his scutcheon. It was easy to persuade him that he would be of more use to the cause which he had at heart, by working legitimately by the side of his friends at home, than by staying abroad and waiting for revolution, or by intriguing to

bring foreign armies upon the soil of his country. Westmoreland was soft and weak. 'The tears overhailed his cheeks abundantly.' Norton appeared equally penitent. They both thought it might be better for them 'to take their chance by voluntary surrender than to risk being taken.' The moment for the temptation was well chosen. Westmoreland had reason to doubt the continued hospitality of Fernihurst. He had been amusing himself with the Laird's 'new wanton lady,' a daughter of Sir William Kirkaldy, and had disturbed the peace of the household. Constable advised them to go to England and 'hide at some friend's house,' from which they 'could make their submission, craving nothing but life.' He offered them 'his own guides,' 'Border outlaws, who would not betray any man that trusted in them for all the gold in Scotland or in France.' He even said in his generosity, 'that he would receive them in his own home, where they might be sure of such safety as he could provide; for if they were taken he would hang at their side.'

They required a few hours to consider. To support his character, Sir Robert spent the night at a house in Jedburgh, which was the haunt of the most desperate men upon the Borders. The place was thronged with them. They were playing at cards when he came in, 'some for drink, some for hardheads.'[1] He sat down at the game. They were talking of the Regent. 'They wished they had Hector of Harlaw's head to be eaten

[1] A small coin.

among them at supper;' and as to Murray, 'some said he could not, for the honour of his country, deliver the Earls, if he had them both, unless the Queen was restored;' others that, 'if he would agree to that change, the Borderers would start up and reive both Queen and Lords from him, for the like shame was never done in Scotland.'[1] The next morning he saw Westmoreland again. Neither he nor Norton had made up their minds. The Earl said he could not leave Fernihurst without making the Laird some present for his hospitality. He desired Constable to go to the Countess, who was still in England, and ask her to give him some choice jewel, with which he could return to Jedburgh. After that he gave him hopes that he would follow his advice, and Sir Robert went back over the moors, 'the extremest day of wind and snow that ever he did ride in,' to make the necessary arrangements with his employers.

'Although,' he wrote to Sir Ralph Sadler, describing what he had done—'Although it was a traitorous kind of service that he was wading in to trap them that trusted in him, as Judas did Christ, yet, to prevent the ills which might come of their liberty, neither kindred nor affection should withhold him to allure them to come to submission. He hoped the Queen would pardon their lives. Should it turn to the effusion of their blood, his conscience would be troubled all the days of his life.' At all events, he trusted that they would not be seized

[1] Constable to Sadler, January 12: *Sadler Papers*, vol. ii.

while under his own roof. There would be opportunities to take them upon the road; he could 'turn the ball into the warden's lap.' But his secret must be kept; 'sooner than his doings should be known, he would rather be torn every joint from other.' If the Earl and Norton changed their minds, the Laird of Fernihurst was poor and covetous. He was jealous of Westmoreland, and he had those about him 'that might persuade him to do anything for profit.' 'A thousand pounds wisely bestowed would effect more than ten thousand men.'[1]

Lord Hunsdon, it seems, had no inclination for dealings of this kind. He never ceased to urge that the Queen should 'more regard her honour than her purse.' Sooner or later she would be obliged to send troops into Scotland, or 'receive the shame to have her rebels kept whatever she could do.'[2] Sadler however sent Constable's letter on to the Court; Cecil showed it to the Queen; and after receiving her instructions, he replied that Constable was to be encouraged to proceed. 'Her Majesty,' he said, 'will have him secretly dealt withal to prosecute his enterprise, to train the rebels to his house, or otherwise to some place in England where they may be so apprehended as he may escape the imputation of any crime. The rather for the covering of the enterprise, he (Constable) may also be apprehended, and be outwardly charged with offences against her Majesty, and in so doing her Majesty commands me to

[1] Constable to Sadler, January 12: *Sadler Papers*, vol. ii.

[2] Hunsdon to Cecil, January 22: *MSS. Border*.

assure you he shall be largely rewarded.' 'If this enterprise cannot take effect, then her Majesty would be should make offer of money to some in Scotland for apprehending of them, and whatever you shall warrant him to offer, not being above 1000*l.*, it shall be performed; her Majesty is very desirous to have these noysome vermin taken.'[1]

'The less the sum be,' wrote Sadler, in sending the order on to Constable, 'the better service shall you do, and the greater will be your own reward. Her Majesty doth take your services in good and thankful part; her Highness's pleasure is that you proceed in that you have begun.'[2]

But Elizabeth was not permitted to soil her fame with successful treachery. Before Constable could return to his villain work, a darker treason had struck a nobler victim; and in the outburst of anarchy which followed in Scotland, she learnt the lesson which Hunsdon had laboured in vain to teach her.

The Earl of Murray was as conscious as Cecil that the interests of Scotland and England could not be separated. It was as essential to the stability of the throne of Elizabeth that his own Regency should be maintained, as it was to himself that the Catholic noblemen should fail in their intended revolution. With a fair understanding he was ready to brave unpopularity, and to assist her by repressing the sympathizers with the Earls, if she in turn would support him against the

[1] Cecil to Sadler, January 18: *Sadler Papers*, vol. ii.

[2] Sadler to Constable, January 23: *Sadler Papers*, vol. ii.

party of the Queen of Scots. It was impossible for him to continue to work upon the terms which Elizabeth had hitherto imposed—to do what she required as if he was her subject, yet to do it without recognition, without help, at the expense of himself and his friends. At such a crisis as the present to fly in the face of the traditions of his country, was to expose himself to almost certain destruction by exasperating the national jealousy of the most sensitive people in the world.

Such relations between them could not last, and it was high time that Elizabeth should know it. To her last demand for the extradition of the refugees the Regent replied by sending his secretary, Elphinstone, to Cecil 'with a private communication.' Many a bitter wrong had Murray to complain of, had he chosen to remember his personal grievances; but personal ill-treatment was never a matter on which he preferred to dwell. After touching on the rebellion, he ran briefly over the events of the three past years; the murder of Darnley, the marriage of Mary Stuart with Bothwell, the sequestration of her person at Lochleven, her escape, and the battle at Langside. The flight into England had followed, and afterwards the practices of the Queen to sow sedition, to maintain Papists, to pretend title to the crown, to marry with the Duke of Norfolk, and to be restored to her own government: while Murray himself had been forced to despair of the favour of the Queen's Majesty, 'by means that the said Scottish Queen had such favourers in England, as well of Papists as others that favoured her marriage.'

Under all disadvantages he had held his ground in the Regency for two years; but he had come to the end of his resources. The Queen's partisans were labouring incessantly to undermine and overthrow him. 'Those who had been concerned in the murder' were afraid of being punished by him; 'the Hamiltons and the Earls of Huntly and Argyle being of alliance in blood, would ever be adverse to the King;' and he was left almost alone to sustain the malice and danger of all those parties. The noblemen who had stood by him at the beginning 'were wearied with continual charge of assemblies.' 'They served at their own cost at Langside, afterwards in a journey into Galloway, next in the Parliament in August, 1568; after that in the journey into England, then in the journey to Glasgow to meet the Duke and Lord Herries, then in the months of March and April on the Borders. Again, there had been the long and costly journey into the North against the Earl of Huntly and his partakers;' 'then the convention at Perth, and then service again upon the Borders.' All this he and his friends had done without assistance, from their private means. For the future, if Elizabeth meant 'to take profit by Scotland,' she must be prepared to take a share in the expenses. 2000*l.* a year, with a supply of powder and arms, would be sufficient; but that sum at least he was entitled and obliged to ask, and to demand further, that she would openly recognise the King's government, and declare to the world that she intended to maintain it. These two requests conceded, he would undertake to govern Scotland in the

manner most conducive to Elizabeth's interest; otherwise, 'he must forbear to venture his life as he had done.' If he was less careful to please England he could make his position easier at home; although it was true that dangers would then ensue to both the realms, by the increase of the Popish factions. He desired Elizabeth to be reminded that 'she had the head of all the troubles at her commandment. The rebellion was not ended, it had more dangerous branches, and if it was not now remedied the fault would lie with her Majesty.'[1]

There was not a word in all this which was not most reasonable and true, but Elphinstone came to the Court at an inconvenient time. Impatient, unjust, and headstrong, Elizabeth said, that for the money and the other matters of which Murray had written, she would think over the subject, and send some one to communicate with him about it. Meantime, she must have 'her rebels.' Sadler, Sussex, Hunsdon, had told her with one voice that it could not be—it would cost Murray his life to try it; but she did not care or did not choose to believe them. The rebels, she said, 'besides high treason against herself and her crown,' 'had purposed the alteration of the common religion established, in both the realms;' they must be given up to her at once.[2]

The ink was scarcely dry upon her letter before she

[1] Murray to Cecil, January 14: *MSS. Scotland.* Notes of the matter of Mr Elphinstone's instructions: Ibid.

[2] Elizabeth to Murray, January 28.

learned that the fears of those who understood Scotland better than herself had been too fatally justified.

Although to the Catholics, to the friends of Mary Stuart, to the friends generally of anarchy and the right of every man to do as he pleased—a large class at this time in Scotland,—the administration of Murray was in every way detestable, yet the disinterested integrity of his character, the activity and equity of his government, had commanded respect even from those who most disliked him. They might oppose his policy and hate his principles, but personal ill-will, as he had never deserved it from any one, had never hitherto been felt towards him, except by his sister. The arrest of Northumberland, and the supposed intention of surrendering him to Elizabeth, had called out a spirit against him which had not before existed, and an opportunity was created for his destruction which had been long and anxiously watched for.

The plot for the murder was originally formed in Mary Stuart's household, if she herself was not the prime mover in it.[1] The person selected for the deed was James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, nephew of the Archbishop of St Andrews and of the Duke of Chatelherault. The conduct of the Hamiltons for the ten past years had been uniformly base. They had favoured the Reformation while there was a hope of marrying the heir of their house to Elizabeth. When this hope

[1] 'Dice el dicho Embajador de Escocia que era ya cosa concertada entre particulares criados de la Reyna.'—Don Francis de Alava to Philip: TEULET, vol. v.

failed, they tried to secure Mary Stuart for him; and when she declined the honour, thought of carrying her off by force. The Archbishop had been a party to the murder of Darnley. He had divorced Bothwell and helped the Queen to marry him, in the hope that she would ruin herself. When she was at Lochleven the house of Hamilton would have voted for her death if their title to the crown had been recognized. Had they won at Langside she was to have repaid their service by marrying the Abbot of Arbroath.

A steady indifference to every interest but their own, a disregard of every obligation of justice or honour, if they could secure the crown of Scotland to their lineage, had given a consistency to the conduct of the Hamiltons beyond what was to be found in any other Scottish family. No scruples of religion had disturbed them, no loyalty to their Sovereign, no care or thought for the public interests of their country. Through good and evil, through truth and lies, through intrigues and bloodshed, they worked their way towards the one object of a base ambition.

Murray was the great obstacle. With Murray put out of the way the little James would not be long a difficulty. For the present and for their immediate convenience they were making use of Mary Stuart's name, as she for her own purposes was making use of theirs. The alliance would last as long as was convenient, and at this point they were united in a common desire for the Regent's death.

Bothwellhaugh had been taken at Langside. His

life was forfeited, and he had been pardoned by Murray, against the advice of those who knew his nature and the effect which generosity would produce upon him. His lands had been escheated and taken possession of, his family were removed from his house, and picturesque visions of a desolate wife driven out into the woods to wander shelterless, have served in the eyes of Mary Stuart's admirers to justify the vengeance of a half-maddened husband. But the story rests on legend. Such indeed had been the actual fate of Lady Murray when Mary Stuart was in the flush of her successes after her marriage with Darnley; but the Castle of Hamilton was large enough to receive the household of so near a kinsman of its chiefs, and Bothwellhaugh was the willing instrument of a crime which had been concerted between Mary Stuart's followers and the sons of the Duke of Chatelherault. Assassination was an accomplishment in his family. John Hamilton, a notorious desperado, who was his brother or near relative, had been employed in France to murder Coligny, and, singularly enough, at that very moment Philip II., who valued such services, had his eye upon him as a person who might be sent to look after—so Philip pleasantly put it—the Prince of Orange.[1] The cavalier would

[1] "Cosas me ha dicho de parte de V. Mag^d que mirase si sería á propósito este Caballero Escocés para enviarle á buscar al Príncipe de Orange. El dicho Caballero es tenido por animoso mucho, y ha lo mostrado en dos cosas particulares que se le han encommendado, que siendo muy difficultosas las ha hecho muy redondes; y creo que con solo ponerle yo en que fuese á buscarle, sin que entendiese que es voluntad de V. Mag^d, lo hará y se arrojaría á cual quien peligro. Pero parece que un hombre

have taken with the utmost kindliness to the occupation, but his reputation for such atrocities was so notorious that Philip was advised to choose some one against whom the Prince would be less likely to be upon his guard.[1]

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tan notado y conocido por los casos que le han sucedido, y que tambien es notorio en Francia y en otras partes que le convidaban á matar al Almirante, podria con mas difficultad que otro ir al efecto arriba dicho sin ser descubierto.'—Parecer de Don Francis de Alava, February 24, 1570: *MSS. Simancas.*

[1] Singularly also, after his present work was accomplished, the choice for this purpose fell actually on the murderer of Murray. It was no fault of Bothwellhaugh that he was not either the executioner or contriver of both of the vilest assassinations which disgraced the sixteenth century in Europe.

On the 23rd of September, 1573, Bothwellhaugh wrote thus from Brussels to Alava:—

'My affairs, thank God, are in good case. I found the Duke of Alva at Amsterdam, where I spoke with Albornoz (the Duke's secretary) on the thing you wot of. The King of Spain will, I hope, soon know my desire to serve him. I am working on all sides to put matters in train, and I have found a gentleman of my nation who has been a captain in Haarlem well fitted for such an enterprise. He is very brave, and I have so worked upon him with promises and persuasions that he has gone after the Prince of Orange to finish the job. Trust me, if the thing is practicable, he will do it.'—TEULET, vol. v. The gentleman, notwithstanding his fitness, failed. But Hamilton was not disheartened and made another trial.

On the 16th of May, 1575, Aguilon, secretary of the Spanish Embassy at Paris, wrote to Cayas:—

'James Hamilton tells me of a practice which he and another Scot have in hand against the Prince of Orange. He meant to speak about it with Don Sancho d'Avila, but I told him he had better address himself to the governor at once, that there might not be too many persons in the secret. I gave him a letter of introduction and all possible encouragement, pointing out the service which he would do to God, his Majesty, and the Estate of Christendom.'—Ibid.

Finally it seems that these Hamiltons, John as well as James, were no better than hired bravos, and were not particular whom they murdered if they could gain anything by it. John Hamilton for several years managed the secret correspondence between Mary Stuart and Alva. In the spring of 1573, when he saw

Edinburgh not offering convenient opportunities, an intimation was brought to Murray, that if he would go to Dumbarton Lord Fleming was ready to surrender the Castle. He went as far as Glasgow, but only to find that he had been misled, and he returned after a few days to Stirling. Bothwellhaugh had been on the watch for him at more than one spot upon the road, but he had been unable to make certain of his aim, and he did not mean to risk a failure. Circumstances requiring the Regent's presence again in Edinburgh, he left Stirling on the afternoon of the 22nd of January, and that night slept at Linlithgow. The town then consisted of one long narrow street. Four doors beyond the Regent's lodgings was a house belonging to the Archbishop of St Andrew's which was occupied by one of his dependants. From the first landing-place a window opened upon the street, the staircase leading directly down from it to the back garden, at the end of which was a lane. A wooden balcony ran along outside the house on a level with the window. It was railed in front, and when clothes were hung upon the bars, they formed a convenient screen behind which a man could easily conceal himself. Here on the morning of the 23rd crouched Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh. The Abbot of Arbroath had lent him his own carbine; the best horse in the stables of Hamilton Castle was at

that Mary Stuart was going to fail, he began to think of doing something to recover favour with the other side, and he sent word from Brussels to the Earl of Morton, 'that he was at the Regent's command to do what service he would, either there with the Duke of Alva, or with the Queen of Scots.'—Killigrew to Burghley, March 4, 1573: *MSS. Scotland.*

the garden gate in the lane, a second was waiting a mile distant, and any one who rode down the street in the direction of Edinburgh would have to pass within three yards of the assassin's hiding-place. The secret had not been kept with entire fidelity. Some one, it was not known who, came to Murray's bedside before he rose, told him that Bothwellhaugh was lying in wait for him, and named the house where he would be found.[1] But Murray was the perpetual object of conspiracies. He received similar warnings probably on half the days on which he went abroad. He had made up his mind to danger as part of his position, and he had ceased to heed it. He had no leisure to think about himself, and whether he lived or died was not of vital moment to him. He paid just sufficient attention to the warning to propose to leave the town by the opposite gate; but when he came out and mounted his horse, he found his guard drawn up and the street not easily passable in that direction, and he thought too little about the matter to disturb them. It was said that he would have started at a gallop. But the people were all out to look at him. To have ridden fast through the crowd would have been dangerous, and so at a foot's pace he passed in front of Bothwellhaugh. To miss him so was impossible.

The shot was fired—he put his hand to his side and said that he was wounded; but he was able to alight, and leaning on Lord Sempell he returned to the house

[1] Hunsdon to Cecil, January 26: *MSS. Border*. Compare CALDERWOOD and BUCHANAN.

which he had just left. He had been hit 'above the navel at the buttoning of the doublet.' 'The ball had passed through him and killed a horse on the other side.' In the confusion the murderer escaped. The clothes upon the rail concealed the smoke, and minutes passed before the window was discovered from which the shot had been fired. Parties of men were on guard in the lane to defend him if he was in danger; but their help was not required, and in a few hours he himself had brought the news of his success to Hamilton Castle, where he was received with an ecstasy of exultation.[1] Thence a day or two after he made his way to France, to be employed as the reader has seen, to receive the thanks of Mary Stuart, and to live upon the wages of this and other villanies.[2]

The Regent did not at first believe that he was seriously hurt, but on examination of the wound, it was seen that he had but a few hours to live. His friends in their bitter grief reminded him of the advice which he had neglected after Langside. He said calmly that 'he could never repent of his clemency.' With the same modest quietness with which he had lived he

[1] Information anent the Regent's murder, February, 1570: *MSS. Scotland.*

[2] Mary Stuart denied that she had directed the murder, but she was heartily delighted at it, and she gave Bothwellhaugh a pension. On the 28th of August, 1571, she wrote to the Archbishop of Glasgow:—

'Ce que Bothwellhaugh a faist a esté sans mon commandment, de quoy je luy sçay aussy bon gré et meilleur que si j'eusse esté du Conseil. J'attend les memoires que me doivent estre envoyez de la recepte de mon douaire pour faire mon estat, où je n'oublyeray la pension dudict Bothwellhaugh.'—LABANOFF, vol. iii. p. 341.

made his few arrangements. He commended the King to Sempell and Mar, and 'without speaking a reproachful word of any man,' died a little before midnight.

Many a political atrocity has disgraced the history of the British nation. It is a question whether among them all there can be found any which was more useless to its projectors or more mischievous in its immediate consequences. It did not bring back Mary Stuart. It did not open a road to the throne to the Hamiltons, or turn back the tide of the Reformation. It flung only a deeper tint of ignominy on his sister and her friends, and it gave over Scotland to three years of misery.

With a perversity scarcely less than the folly which destroyed his life, his memory has been sacrificed to sentimentalism; and those who can see only in the Protestant religion an uprising of Antichrist, and in the Queen of Scots the beautiful victim of sectarian iniquity, have exhausted upon Murray the resources of eloquent vituperation, and have described him as a perfidious brother building up his own fortunes on the wrongs of his injured Sovereign. In the eyes of theologians, or in the eyes of historians who take their inspiration from theological systems, the saint changes into the devil and the devil into the saint, as the point of view is shifted from one creed to another. But facts prevail at last, however passionate the predilection; and when the verdict of plain human sense can get itself pronounced, the 'good Regent' will take his place among the best and greatest men who have ever lived.

Measured by years his career was wonderfully brief. He was twenty-five when the English were at Leith; he was thirty-five when he was killed. But in times of revolution men mature quickly. His lot had been cast in the midst of convulsions where, at any moment, had he cared for personal advantages, a safe and prosperous course lay open to him; but so far as his conduct can be traced, his interests were divided only between duty to his country, duty, as he understood it, to God, and affection for his unfortunate sister. France tried in vain to bribe him, for he knew that the true good of Scotland lay in alliance and eventual union with its ancient enemy; and he preferred to be used, trifled with, or trampled on by Elizabeth to being the trusted and valued friend of Catherine de Medici. In all Europe there was not a man more profoundly true to the principles of the Reformation, or more consistently—in the best sense of the word—a servant of God. His house was compared to 'a holy temple,' where no foul word was ever spoken. A chapter of the Bible was read every day after dinner and supper in his family. One or more ministers of the Kirk were usually among his guests, and the conversation chiefly turned on some serious subject. Yet no one was more free from sour austerity. He quarrelled once with Knox, 'so that they spoke not together for eighteen months,' because his nature shrunk from extremity of intolerance, because he insisted that while his sister remained a Catholic she should not be interdicted from the mass. The hard convictions of the old Reformer were justified by the

result. The mass in those days meant intrigue, conspiracy, rebellion, murder, if nothing else would serve; and better it would have been for Mary Stuart, better for Scotland, better for the broad welfare of Europe, if it had been held at arms' length while the battle lasted, by every country from which it had once been expelled. But the errors of Murray—if it may be so said of any errors—deserved rather to be admired than condemned. In the later differences which arose between him and the Queen, he kept at her side so long as he could hold her back from wrong. He resisted her by force, when in marrying Darnley she seemed plunging into an element in which she or the Reformation would be wrecked; and when he failed and in failing was disowned with insults by Elizabeth, he alone of all his party never swerved through personal resentment from the even tenor of his course.

Afterwards, when his sister turned aside from the pursuit of thrones to lust and crime, Murray took no part in the wild revenge which followed. He withdrew from a scene where no honourable man could remain with life, and returned only to save her from judicial retribution. Only at last when she forced upon him the alternative of treating her as a public enemy or of abandoning Scotland to anarchy and ruin, he took his final post at the head of all that was good and noble among his countrymen, and there met the fate which from that moment was marked out for him.

As a ruler he was severe but inflexibly just. The corruption which had begun at the throne had saturated

the courts of law. In the short leisure which he could snatch from his own labours he sat on trials with the judges; and 'his presence struck such reverence into them that the poor were not oppressed by false accusations, nor tired out by long attendance, nor their causes put off to gratify the rich.' He had his father's virtues without his father's infirmities; and so with such poor resources as he could command at home, with hollow support from England, and concentrating upon his own person the malignity of political hatred and spurious sentiment, he held on upon his road till the end came and he was taken away.

Scotland was struck to the heart by his death. The pathetic intensity of popular feeling found expression in a ballad which was published at Edinburgh immediately after Murray's death. It was written probably by Robert Lord Sempell, on whose arm he leant after he was wounded.[1]

The Exhortatioun to all pleasand thingis quhairin man can haif delyte to withdraw thair plesur from mankynde, and to deploir the cruell Murther of umquhile my Lord Regentis Grace.

Ye Mountaines murne, ye valayis wepe,
Ye clouds and Firmament,
Ye fluids dry up, ye seyis so depe,
Deploir our lait Regent.
Ye greinis grow gray, ye gowanis dune,
Ye hard rocks ryve for sorrow:
Ye mariguildis forbid the sune
To oppin yow euerie morrow.

Thow Lauand lurk, thow Time be tint,
Thow Margelene swaif,
Thow Camomylde, ye balme and mint,
Your fragrant odouris laif.

The strife of faction was hushed in the great grief which fell on all in whom generous feeling was not

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Ye Baselik and Jonet flouris,
Ye Gerofleis so sweet:
And Violatis hap you with schouris
Of hailstaines, snaw, and sleit.

Thow grene Roismary hyde thy heid,
Schaw not thy fair blew blumis:
In signe of dule lat na grene blaid
On Lowraine grow or brwmis.
Ye fruitfull treis produce na frute:
And ye fair Rois treis widder:
In earth ye sweit flouris take na rute,
But wallow altogidder.

Cum Nettilis, thornie breiris and rew,
With all fouli filthie weid,
Now plant yow quhair their sweit flouris grew
And place yow in their steid.
Ye pleasant byrdis lat be your sang,
Your mirth in murning turne,
And tak the Turtill yow amang
To leirne yow how to murne.

Thow luifsum Lark and gay Goldspink,
Thow mirthfull Nychtingaill,
Lat be your heuinly notes and think
His deith for to bewaill.
Ye pleasand Paun and Papingaw,
Cast off your blyithlyke cullour,
And tak the feddrum of the Craw
In signe of wo and dolour.

Now burne thyself, O Phœnix fair,
Not to reuive againe,
That we may him to thee compair,
Quhais lyke dois not remaine.
Thow Pelican, prepare thy beik
And grinde it scharpe and lang,
To peirs our breistis that we may seik
How to reuenge this wrang.

utterly extinguished. Those who had been loudest in their outcries against him were shamed by his loss into forgetfulness of their petty grievances, and desired only to revenge a crime which had a second time brought dishonour upon their country. A party of Hamiltons appeared in Edinburgh the day after the murder, ex-

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All birdis and beistis, all hillis and holtis,
All greïnis and plesand treis,
All Lambis and Kiddis, all Caluis and Colts,
Absent yow from men's eyis.
Ye gleds and howlets, rauins and rukis,
Ye Crawis and Corbeis blak,
Thair gutts mot be among your cluikis
That did this bludy fact.

Ye instruments of euerie sort,
That gaif to mankynde plesure,
Now turne your melodie and sport
In murning and displesure.
Ye Sone and Mone, and Planetis sevin,
Ye glystring starris bricht,
All ye celestiale hoste of heuin
Absconce yow from mens sicht.

Ye Yeiris and monethis, dayis and houris,
Your naturall course withdraw,
In Somer time be winter schouris,
Sleit, hailstaines, frost and snaw.
For why, sum men dois trauell now
To turne all upsyde downe,
And als to seik the maner how
To reif the King his crowne.

We had ane Prince of gude renoun,
That Justice did desyre,
Aganis quhome the Hammiltoun
Did traterously conspyre.
Quha schot him of the Bischoppis stair
In Lythgow thair Londoun,
To bruik this byworde euer mair
Fy, Tratour Hammiltoun

pecting to be received with enthusiasm and to have the Castle gates thrown open to them; they found Grange and Maitland, and Lord Hume, in council with Morton, and themselves the object of universal indignation and rage. Bothwellhaugh had been nothing but the tool of his race. In such a case, it was said, neither 'order of law' nor form was necessary; 'war should be declared against the whole house of Hamilton, and they should be extirpated root and branch.'[1] 'The murder was so odious,' wrote Lord Hunsdon, 'and the death so lamented with every honest man, as, where there were great factions grown, and many private quarrels among them, they were all presently reconciled, and had avowed the revenge.' 'Grange would spend life and goods in the quarrel.' Elizabeth 'might frame the Lords as she would, and have of them what she listed, so they might know her full resolution what they might trust to,' so she would rid them finally of the fear with which they were all possessed, that, sooner or later, for her own convenience, she would reinstate the deposed Queen.[2] Even Maitland himself, far gone as he was in intrigue and conspiracy, reopened his disused correspondence with Cecil. He too, like the rest, had been so persuaded that Mary Stuart would come back upon them, that she would triumph at last through Elizabeth's weakness, that he had cast his fortunes upon her side. Even now, at this

[1] Notes of proceedings on the death of the Regent, February, 1570: *MSS. Scotland.*

[2] Hunsdon to Elizabeth, January 20: *MSS. Border.* 'Assure yourself,' he added, 'if you do not take heed of that Scottish Queen she will put you in peril, and that ereit be long, for there are many practices abroad.'

supreme hour, he was ready to return to his old policy, and carry half Scotland with him, if Elizabeth would understand her own mind and adhere to any definite resolution.[1]

On Elizabeth herself the blow told with terrible power. Whether or no she felt remorse for her own behaviour to Murray, his murder brought home those realities of assassination which had long floated before her as a dream. Never again, she well knew it, would she find another Scot so true to England; never another whose disinterestedness she could try to the uttermost, who would work for her without help or reward or acknowledgment, and whose constancy she could never exhaust. 'His death,' she passionately exclaimed, 'was the beginning of her own ruin.'[2] 'She had lost her truest friend.' 'There was none like him in the world' —'none,' she admitted it now—'so useful to herself.'[3]

The French ambassador feared that in her first alarm she would make short work with the Queen of Scots. That Mary Stuart and the Bishop of Ross had been privy to the Northern rebellion, had become every day more clear to her. That the Regent's murder came from the same hand, she had too keenly conjectured; and

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[1] Maitland to Cecil, January 26: *Burghley Papers*, vol. i.

[2] 'Ha le sentido esta Reyna mucho, y hizó ayer grandes exclamaciones, diciendo que esto seria el principio de su ruina.'—Don Guerau to Philip, January 30.

[3] 'Il n'est pas à croire combien ladicte Dame a vifvement senty la mort dudict de Moray; pour laquelle s'estant enfermée dans sa chambre elle a escryé avecques larmes qu'elle avoit perdu le meilleur et le plus utille amy qu'elle eut au monde pour l'ayder à se maintenir et conserver en repos.'—La Mothe Fénelon au Roy, February 17. *Dépêches*, vol. ii.

although she declared that if the Queen of Scots tried to murder her as well as her brother, her life should be in no danger,[1] yet Elizabeth's fine speeches were not always to be depended upon, and the rebellion, quickened by Murray's death, was showing signs of fresh vitality. The Earl of Westmoreland, who, unless Constable was deceived, had been looking for means of obtaining his pardon, made a destructive foray into Northumberland with Sir Walter Scott of Buccleugh, and ventured down even within sight of Newcastle; and worse than this followed, which might have almost roused Elizabeth at last out of her incurable infirmity of purpose. She could decide when she would have done better to hesitate, when it was a question of the execution of a few hundred poor men. Where her crown might be forfeited by uncertainty, she was paralyzed by incapacity of resolution. It might have been thought that towards Scotland, with such a chance re-opened to her, she would have acted energetically at last. When she recovered from her alarm sufficiently to move, it was to take a step which showed the Scots that they had no more to hope from her than before.

Thomas Randolph, who had so long and faithfully served her at Edinburgh, was recalled from his retirement and sent back to his old place. His instructions were to renew old friendships, and to use the present humour of the people to knit together again the English

[1] 'Que quand ladicte Reyne d'Escoce auroit bien machiné de la faire tuer d'ung coup de haquebutte, elle pourtant ne consentiroit jamais qu'on touchât ny à sa vie ny à sa personne.' —Ibid.

party: but the Lords were to be used collectively as the Regent had been used before; they were to give all and receive nothing. Randolph was told to urge them in the old tone, 'to maintain religion,' 'to keep the Prince safe in Scotland, and admit no French troops among them;' if however they pressed to know in return what Elizabeth would do for them, he was forbidden to commit her to anything. He was to give such a general answer 'as neither they should be discouraged with doubt of her favour, nor boldened to unreasonable and overhard demands.'[1] Had no principles been at work among the Scots which in some degree had neutralized Elizabeth's behaviour to them, she would have worn out their patience, and she would not have had a friend left to herself or England north of Tweed. The actual effect was more than sufficiently disastrous, and meanwhile she had to encounter the last phase of her own Northern Insurrection.

February. The name of Leonard Dacres had appeared more than once in the examinations of the prisoners. The fugitives, in resentment at his apathy, had spoken freely of his previous connection with them, and their words had been carried to Berwick to Hunsdon. Old Norton said that if the Queen knew the part which he had played, she would hang him sooner than any one; a letter had been found upon a servant of the Bishop of Ross, in which he was compromised; and Elizabeth, indignant at having been deceived by his

[1] Elizabeth to Sir R. Sadler, January 29: *MSS. Scotland.*

smooth speeches, ordered Sussex to take him and send him back to London. It was easier to command than to execute. Lord Dacres, as in the North he was universally called, by lighting a couple of beacon fires could collect four thousand men about him in a few hours, hardy yeomen and their servants seasoned in the furnace of the Border wars, whose fealty was to the Lord of Naworth, and who were loyal to the Queen only when the Dacres was loyal himself. Naworth Castle contained some hundreds of armed retainers. The Border was but ten miles distant, and two hours' gallop would bring down a flight of moss-troopers from Liddisdale. He had cannon and powder; he was rich, and had been long prepared; and situated as he was, he could fight if it served his purpose, or fly to Scotland if flight was convenient. To arrest him required a small army, and, infuriated as the people were by the executions, it was a difficult and half-desperate enterprise.

Sussex on receiving the Queen's order replied, that as she had been pleased to order her troops to be disbanded, he had no force at his disposition and could not at once obey her. Elizabeth, who did not choose to be contradicted, and was brave when bravery was out of place, wrote again that she would take no excuses. The will, she implied, was more wanting than the power, and she bade Sussex set about the business without another word.

'All actions,' he said to Cecil in answer, 'were so hardly interpreted, that every man was afraid to do or advise further than was plainly directed.' He did not

mean to disobey the Queen, he was only unwilling to attempt what without help he could not possibly accomplish. Hunsdon, who was called on to co-operate, said plainly that before fresh work was required of the few men that were left to him, the Queen had better send some money to pay up the arrears of their wages; and both Hunsdon and Sadler, who was still with him at Berwick, believed that there were scoundrels about Elizabeth who were purposely misleading her with advice which they hoped might be fatal to her.[1] Her orders being peremptory, they consulted Lord Scrope at Carlisle. Lord Scrope, with a faint hope that Dacres might save them trouble by submission, invited him to come

[1] —— to Cecil, February 6, from Berwick. The writer, whoever he might be, was living with Hunsdon and Sadler, and was on terms of intimacy with Cecil. Another passage in his letter gives a vivid picture of the feelings with which the crisis was regarded by those who wished Elizabeth well. 'I know they shoot chiefly at the life of the Queen's Majesty, at her crown, the subversion of the Estate, and the destruction of us all that truly obey and obediently embrace Christ's sincere religion and her Highness's most godly laws. I fear her Highness goeth daily in great danger. Oh Lord, preserve her from privy conspiracy, poison, shot, and all Papistical treacheries. I know you are maligned, envied, and disdained at of the Papists' and rebels' faction more than any of the privy council, and surely they have sought all means to supplant you, and still will so practise; for of all men they take you for their deadliest enemy and greatest hinderer. Oh good Mr Secretary, have an eye to yourself. Beware whom you trust. You know the world. All are not faithful friends that shew fairest faces. Help to overthrow the wicked conspiracy. If the heads may still remain, shortly shall the whole realm repent. Mysterium impietatis. The Papists practice day and night.

Judas non dormit, Sinon incendia miscet.

Remember the counsel of Sextus Tarquinius. So long as they remain as they do, look for no quietness. And if they get liberty, look not long to live. Well warned well armed.'

to Carlisle Castle. He answered from Naworth that he was ill and could not leave his bed, and Scrope at once agreed with the rest, that his arrest could not be ventured safely without troops from the South. For himself, he said that if he raised the whole county of Cumberland, the people would not serve against the Dacres, and if it came to blows they would take the Dacres' side.[1]

Spies reported that Naworth was full of men and was provisioned for many weeks. There were cannon on the corner turrets. The castle was protected on one side by a moat, on the other by a deep ravine that sunk precipitously from the foot of the walls. The country was utterly bare, and there was no shelter anywhere to cover an approach. The armoury at Carlisle was practically empty; there were a few old honey-combed guns there, but without carriages and unfit for service. There were no troops left between Berwick and Carlisle beyond the ordinary Border guard, and Westmoreland and Buccleuch were for ever in the field, driving 'great booties of cattle and sheep,' and threatening to burn Newcastle. Bishop Pilkington came panting into Berwick with the news that Durham was again fermenting. The rebels had sworn 'to hang the prebendaries,' 'whereof they were so affeared that they were ready to fly out of the country.'[2] The communication along the Marches was unsafe. Buccleuch, Herries, Maxwell, Lochinvar, and

[1] Scrope to Cecil, January 31; Scrope to Hunsdon, February 3: *MSS. Border.*

[2] Hunsdon to Cecil, February 7: *MSS. Border.*

many other Scots, sent word to Dacres to hold his ground and they and their men would come to Naworth at an hour's notice;[1] and so far from being able to take him, the English commanders were in daily fear of finding themselves overwhelmed at their posts. It was more dangerous to sit still than to move. On the 19th of February a warning reached Lord Hunsdon, at Berwick, 'that within two days at most, Buccleuch and Westmoreland would join Dacres with 5000 men, and they would then be past dealing with.' He determined to try the chance of a sudden stroke, and, if he failed, to cut his way to Carlisle and join Scrope. With a great effort he collected 1500 men—the Berwick harquebussmen among them, on whose fidelity he could rely, and two hours after dark the little force set out from Hexham. The beacons were blazing on hill and church tower, and every hill-side 'was full of men, horse and foot, crying and shouting as if they had been mad.' As they approached Naworth, scouts brought Hunsdon word that Dacres was waiting for him with twice his own strength; 'if he took any overthrow,' he knew that the whole North would again be immediately in arms, and his own troops would be destroyed to a man. As surprise was impossible, he thought it better to avoid a battle. The road passed near the castle, but the country was open; and striking off to the left, he passed it shortly after daybreak at two miles' distance. The Gelt river was in front of him, running along a deep gorge between precipitous sandstone cliffs. To attempt

[1] Scrope to Hunsdon, February 18: Ibid.

to cross, except at the bridge, would be extremely dangerous, and he was obliged to follow the brink of the ravine to recover the road again. Dacres had followed him at a distance, foreseeing his difficulty. There was a ridge of broken ground to be passed, from which the cliff fell sheer to the river, and where defeat would be destruction. At that spot, as his men were struggling along draggled and weary with their night's march, the Borderers came down on them; and even Hunsdon himself could not withhold his admiration at the brilliancy of their onset. 'They gave the proudest charge,' he said, 'that ever I saw.' Retreat being impossible, the Berwick men stood to their arms; they were trained marksmen, as the time then was, and, at close quarters, their harquebusses gave them a terrible advantage. The Borderers staggered under the fire, and, before they could recover themselves, Hunsdon fell on them with a squadron of horse, cut up some hundreds of them, and drove them back in confusion. Having so largely the advantage in numbers, they might still have thrown themselves across the bridge and held the passage of the river; but Dacres of the crooked back, so bold in conspiracies, was faint-hearted in the field. When Hunsdon charged, 'he fled like a tall gentleman, and never looked behind him till he was in Liddisdale.' A trooper seized him by the arm and had almost secured him, but a party of Scots came to his rescue and snatched him from capture and the scaffold.[1] Their leader gone, the Borderers scattered to their homes. Two hundred

[1] Hunsdon to the Queen, February 20: *MSS. Border*

men who had been left in Naworth fled like the rest, and, by the afternoon, the castle and its guns were surrendered. The victory was complete, but it was one of the many accidents to which Elizabeth was overmuch indebted. Had the battle been lost, as too easily it might have been lost, Lord Hunsdon thought that England would have been lost with it; and, like a man shuddering at the thought of a danger from which he has narrowly escaped, he tried again to force Elizabeth to look her situation in the face, to think less of money and more of the enormous interests which she was imperilling by her parsimony and vacillations.[1]

Elizabeth herself, when the peril was over, admitted that it had been greater than she had supposed. She promised, or Cecil promised for her, that as long as the Earls were in arms in Scotland a larger force should be maintained upon the Borders; while she herself with her own hand thanked her cousin for his services, and repaid him, not entirely to his own satisfaction, for he never received anything more substantial, with a letter which, if a Sovereign's praise could have filled a lean purse, would have made Hunsdon the richest of the Peers.

'I doubt not, my Harry,' she wrote, 'whether that the victory was given me more joyed me, or that you were by God appointed the instrument of my glory. And I assure you that for my country's sake the first might suffice, but for my heart's contentation the second

[1] Hunsdon to Cecil, March 3: *MSS. Border.*

more pleased me. It likes me not a little that with a good testimony of your faith there is seen a stout courage of your mind that more trusted to the goodness of your quarrel than to the weakness of your numbers. But I can say no more. 'Beatus est ille servus quem cum Dominus venerit inveniet faciendo (*sic*) sua mandata.' And that you may not think you have done nothing for your profit, though you have done much for your honour, I intend to make this journey somewhat to increase your livelihood, that you may not say to yourself, 'Perditum quod factum est ingrato.'

'Your loving kinswoman,

'ELIZABETH.'[1]

It is pleasant to be able to say that the cruelties which had followed on the main rebellion were not repeated. So many poor fellows had been killed in the fight that, at Hunsdon's suggestion, a general pardon followed to all who would submit, and in the trials of the prisoners who were not included in the amnesty, mercy also for the future prevailed.

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[1] *MSS. Border, Rolls House.*

CHAPTER LIV.

EXCOMMUNICATION OF ELIZABETH.

THE impunity with which Elizabeth's Government was able to insult and provoke the Catholic Powers of Europe is the most anomalous phenomenon in modern history. The population of England was less than half the population either of France or Spain. The nation was divided against itself, and three-quarters of the peers and half the gentlemen were disaffected. Yet the intricacies of the political situation protected the Queen not only against active resentment from abroad, but from the conspiracies of her own subjects. Everywhere indeed there was paradox; everywhere contradiction and inconsistency. In the struggle for existence men snatch at the first weapon that comes to hand, and cannot look too nicely at the armoury where it has been forged. Catholics and Protestants where they were a suffering minority clamoured alike for liberty of conscience; alike where they were in power they proscribed every creed but their own. The obligations of loyalty varied with the creed of the Sovereign.

The English Bishops who composed the Homily on Wilful Rebellion, fed the armies of the Huguenots and the Prince of Orange with contributions collected in the English churches. The Catholics who on the Continent preached the Divine right of Kings, believed in England that they might lawfully be deposed by their subjects. Princes were not more consistent than their peoples. Elizabeth was half a Catholic in theory, in practice she was the most vigorous of Protestants. The Court of France was one month the ally of the Papacy, and the irreconcilable enemy of heresy; in the next it was seeking alliance with England, stretching out its hands to the princes of the religion, and thinking only how best to take advantage of the distractions of the Low Countries, and annex Brabant and Flanders to the French Crown. But phenomena like these occasion no surprise. They explain themselves on the common principles of human nature, or in the divisions of opinions and parties. The anomalies in the position of the English Queen were so singular as to be without precedent or parallel.

From Philip, the most orthodox of princes, and the Spanish nation, the most passionately Catholic in the world, some kind of principle, some uniformity of action, might have been looked for with certainty; yet Philip was compelled to be the chief supporter of a heretic Power, by which he was himself insulted and despised. If he attempted to interfere to change the government in England, France stepped to Elizabeth's side and threatened him with war. If he stood aside to let

the Catholics rebel, the Catholic element in France was ready with its offers of help to secure the profits of the anticipated revolution; and thus Philip, through fear for his Netherlands, was forced back upon his sister-in-law's side, was obliged to stand between her and the Pope, and to perplex the whole Catholic world by an irresolution not less marked and far more mischievous than the vacillation of Elizabeth herself. Again and again he had tried to extricate himself from his dilemma, but the strange eddy was always too strong for him. Had there been no France the English Catholics would have found an instant ally in Spain, and Mary Stuart would have found a champion. Had Mary Stuart been unconnected with France the difficulty would have been greater but still not insurmountable. And again, had there been no Spain, the French would never have submitted to be driven out of Scotland, or would have found an easy means to revenge themselves in the intestine divisions of England. But as with the calms in the Northern latitudes, which are caused by the conflict and counterpoise of opposed atmospheric currents, the mutual jealousies of the two Powers left Elizabeth more free to settle her own difficulties than if the 'ditch' which divided England from the Continent had been the Atlantic itself. She had the advantage of the neighbourhood without its evil, for her disaffected subjects, instead of trusting to their own energies, built their hopes on assistance from abroad which never came. She had robbed Philip of his money, imprisoned his ambassador, destroyed his commerce, assisted his

subjects in rebellion, and invaded his Indian colonies, yet to keep her on the throne continued the same necessity to him as when ten years before he had rejected the entreaties of de Feria and de Quadra to make himself master of England by force.

The immunity indeed could not last for ever. If the Reformers were finally crushed on the Continent, the turn of England would come in the end; and had Elizabeth understood the situation as completely as Cecil understood it, she might have struck boldly into the quarrel, and perhaps turned the scale conclusively over all Western Europe. But for such a policy she wanted courage, and probably she wanted inclination. She dipped into the whirlpool and drew out of it, she hung on the edge and promised and broke her promises, and sent help to France and Flanders and denied having sent it, and did all those things which in common times would have most exposed her to danger with least profit to herself. Yet here too, strangely, her star was on her side. This very conduct answered best for her own purposes, since it enabled Philip to hope to the last that she would go back to the principles of the old alliance and the old faith, and so furnished him with an excuse to himself for his own inaction. Thus time was gained, and time was everything for the consolidation of English freedom. Catholicism in England was still to appearance large and imposing, but its strength was the strength of age, which, when it is bowed or broken, cannot lift itself again. Protestantism was exuberant in the freshness of youth; if a branch was lopped away

another more vigorous shot from the stem; the sap was in its veins; it would bend to the storm and gather strength from the blasts which tossed its branches. The Catholic rested upon order and tradition, stately in his habits of thought, mechanical and regular in his outward actions. His party depended on its leaders, and the leaders looked for guidance to the Pope and the European princes. The Protestant was self-dependent, confident, careless of life, believing in the future not the past, irrepressible by authority, eager to grapple with his adversary wherever he could find him, and rushing into piracy metaphorical or literal when regular warfare was denied him. Life and energy were on the side of the Queen, and every year that she could gain was a fresh security for her, while the convenient season for which Philip waited, though it arrived at last, arrived too late, when the hand which should execute his behests was shaking in decrepitude.

These reflections however, if sound at all, are but wisdom after the event. We must return to England in the opening of the year 1570, when the vitality of Protestantism was still unproved, and the future was vacancy peopled only with its million possibilities.

The rebellion, ill concerted and ill managed, had exploded without effect, but it had left the Catholics no weaker than before, embittered more deeply against Elizabeth's government, and only resolved to renew the experiment with a clearer understanding among themselves. The conspiracy, as the Regent Murray said, had its branches over the whole island; and were

the Queen to be taken off by an assassin as Murray had been, there was no force anywhere which could save the country from immediate and universal anarchy.

Conscious of her danger, and conscious, as she recovered her equanimity, that she must find some better guarantee for her safety than the hanging of landless labourers and poor artisans, Elizabeth drew up an address to her subjects, in which she explained the principles of her past government, and appealed to their consciences to say whether on the whole she had deserved their disaffection. The thoughts were her own, the language in part or wholly was Cecil's.[1] A printed copy was sent to every parish in England, to be hung up in some public place where every one could see it, and read aloud in service-time from the pulpit.

She spoke briefly of the insurrection. She thanked her people for their general loyalty; but 'for their better understanding,' she desired to add some few words of reply to the calumnies which were spread abroad against her administration. 'She had desired,' she said, 'to have the obedience of her subjects by love and not by compulsion, by their own yielding and not by her exacting: she had never sought the life, the blood, the goods, the houses, estates, or lands of any person in her dominions:' she had been careful for the maintenance of order and law, yet with so little severity that 'the Judges had in no age before given fewer

[1] The MS. is corrected throughout in Cecil's hand. The body of it had been probably written at his dictation by a secretary.—*Domestic MSS.*, 1569, 1579. *Rolls House.*

bloody judgments:' there had been no civil wars in England like those which were desolating the neighbouring kingdoms; no needless foreign wars, no impoverishing of the subject by 'taxes, assizes, gabels, or other exactions:' she had incurred expenses in the defence of the country against intended invasions; yet she had been more careful of her subjects' treasure than even Parliament itself had required her to be; the ordinary revenues of the Crown had sufficed for the ordinary government, and she invited the people generally to contrast 'the security, tranquillity, and wealth which they enjoyed, with the continual and universal outrages, bloodshed, murders, burnings, spoilings, depopulation of towns and villages, and infinite manner of exactions, in France and the Low Countries.'

So much as to the general management of the country. There remained to be considered religion, on which her rule 'specially from abroad had been most frequently and maliciously impugned.' It was true, Elizabeth admitted, that 'the external ecclesiastical policy of England differed in some respects from that which was established in other countries, and occasions had been sought to trouble weak consciences on this ground. Simply however she declared that she had neither claimed nor exerted any other authority in the Church than had attached from immemorial time to the English Crown, although that authority had been recognized with greater or less distinctness at different times. The Crown challenged no superiority to define, decide, or determine any article or point of the Christian faith or

religion; or to change any rite or ceremony before received and observed in the Catholic Church. The royal supremacy in matters spiritual meant no more than this, that she being by lawful succession Queen of England, all persons born in the realm were subjects to her and to no other earthly ruler. She was bound in duty to provide that her people should live in the faith, obedience, and observance of the Christian religion; that consequently there should be a Church orderly governed and established; and that the ecclesiastical ministers should be supported by the civil power, that her subjects might live in the fear of God to the salvation of their souls. In this Christian princes differed from Pagan princes, who, when they did best, took but a worldly care of their subjects' bodies and earthly lives.

'And yet,' she said, 'to answer further to some malicious untruths, she never had any meaning or intent that any of her subjects should be troubled or molested by examinations or inquisitions in any matter of their faith, as long as they should not gainsay the authority of the Holy Scriptures, or deny the articles of faith contained in any of the Creeds received and used in the Church: they might retain their own opinions in any rites or ceremonies appertaining to religion, as long as they should in their outward conversations show themselves quiet and conformable, and not manifestly repugnant to the laws for resorting to their ordinary churches.'

'So far and no farther the Crown of England claimed authority over the Church; and if any Potentate in

Christendom, challenging universal and sole superiority, should condemn the English princes for refusing to recognize that superiority, Elizabeth said she would be ready, in any free and general assembly, where such potentate should not be only judge in his own cause, to make such an answer in her defence as should in reason satisfy the universality of good and faithful Christians; or, if she failed to satisfy them, as the humble servant and handmaid of Christ, she would be willing to conform herself and her policy to that which truth should guide her into for the advancement of the Christian faith and concord of Christendom: she would admit as truth however only that which Almighty God should please to reveal by ordinary means in peaceable manner, and not that which should be obtruded upon her by threatenings of bloodshed and motions of war and rebellion, or by curses, fulminations, or other worldly tyrannous violences or cruel practices.

'With this general statement her subjects ought to be contented. She had done nothing which could justly offend them, and she intended to do nothing. Inasmuch however as some kinds of her people had been encouraged in disobedience by an opinion evil conceived of her lenity, she must and would, for the future, make use of the sword of justice against the obstinately disaffected. There should be no inquisition, no examination, no violence done to conscience in matters of faith; and those who would outwardly conform should enjoy the fruits of her former accustomed mildness; but sedition and rebellion should be speedily and promptly repressed.'

The allusion 'to curses and fulminations' might seem prophetic. That Elizabeth had not been formally excommunicated had been one of the difficulties which had embarrassed the Northern insurgents. An English gentleman instinctively recoiled from the name of traitor; and so long as they were unabsolved from their oath of allegiance, the most earnest Catholics could not feel with certainty that they were released from their obligation of obedience. The Popes would long before have relieved their consciences could they have followed their own discretion; but the Catholic princes, and especially Philip, were not so blinded by fanaticism as to sanction so audacious a precedent. Charles V. had refused to recognize the excommunication of Henry VIII.; he had received English ambassadors, and gone back into an alliance with the English, as if Paul III. had been but a mortal like himself. Philip had been less openly disrespectful to Paul's successors; but he had escaped only by preventing them from forcing him into the same situation, and by interposing to forbid their often-meditated violence. Many reasons made him unwilling to quarrel with Elizabeth. Many reasons made him reluctant, even if an opportunity should present itself, to permit her to be deposed by revolution; and as a Sovereign, he declined to recognize even by silent acquiescence the insolent pretensions of the Roman Pontiff.

Confronted however by the avowed embarrassment of the English Catholics, privately instigated by the Cardinal of Lorraine, and perhaps believing that by the open exercise of his authority he might put an end to

the vacillation of the Great Powers, and unite France and Spain upon what, by the voice of their Church, would be consecrated into a Crusade, Pius V. determined to wait no longer for Philip's approbation. The Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland had themselves written to desire him to speak out in their favour. On the 25th of February therefore, suddenly, that there might be no remonstrance, he drew up a Bull, by which he declared Elizabeth to be cut off, as the minister of iniquity, from the communion of the faithful. He released her subjects from their allegiance, and he forbade them, under pain of incurring the same sentence as herself, to recognize her any longer as their sovereign.[1]

Deeply though Elizabeth had injured the King of Spain, the Pope was conscious that it would be vain for him to hope that the Bull could be published in Flanders. Philip, he was well aware, would entreat or command him to restore the levin bolt to his spiritual armoury. He therefore sent it to the Cardinal of Lorraine, to be issued at a favourable moment; and, ignorant as yet of the completeness of the collapse of the insurrection in England, or believing that the work could be recommenced from the Scottish Border, he wrote at the same time a letter of encouragement and gratitude to the two Earls. It was couched in the usual language of the Apostolic missives. The Pope expressed and assured them of the peculiar love with which he regarded his English flock. 'He was grieved,' he said,

[1] Bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, February 25, 1570: *MSS. Domestic, Rolls House. Printed by* CAMDEN, BURNET, etc.

'that during his Pontificate, the venom of heresy should have been spread so widely over the Christian Commonwealth. He had prayed to Peter however not to desert his forlorn bark on the stormy sea on which it was tossed; and Peter, he did not doubt, would come to the help of his faithful servants. Many a time that precious boat had seemed to be on the verge of destruction; yet, by the power of the Lord, the raging waves had been stayed, and the ship had come out from persecution, strengthened by the violence which had threatened it with ruin. It might be that the Lord Jesus Christ, who made old things new and new things old, had resolved to build again the Church of that realm by the hands of the two noblemen whom he was addressing—men illustrious alike in their blood and in their zeal for the faith, who had endeavoured to save themselves and their country from the foul tyranny of female sensuality.[1] They had desired to submit themselves again to the Holy Apostolic See. He applauded in the Lord their pious purpose as it deserved. He gave them his blessing. He received them under the shelter of his authority. He exhorted them to be constant and to persevere. He was assured that the Almighty Lord, whose works were all perfect and who had moved them to the defence of the Catholic faith, would give them the aid of His powerful arm. Should they lose their lives in His service, it was better for them to pass at once into Paradise through a glorious death, than to be the mean

[1] 'De la subjeccion de la torpe y feminil incontinencia.'

slaves of a licentious woman, and lose their immortal souls. The Bishops who had been flung into dungeons rather than forsake the truth, had followed in the footsteps of the blessed Thomas of Canterbury. Let the Earls also imitate that admirable saint. They were his beloved children in Christ, and he prayed them, for no perils by which they might be threatened, to desert the cause which they had taken in hand. The God in whom they trusted, the God who cast Pharaoh and his chariots into the sea, was able to destroy the might of their adversaries. The Pope himself would not only move the princes of Christendom in their behalf, but would send them at once all the money which he could provide, and in this and all other ways would assist them in their holy purpose to the utmost of his power.'[1]

The letter never reached its destination, but fell into the hands of the Spaniards. The Bull was carried to Paris, and lay waiting for the moment when it was hoped that a war would break out between France and England, and that Catherine de Medici and the King would give their sanction—without which even the Cardinal of Lorraine was afraid to act—to the publication of it before the world.[2]

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[1] La carta que su Santidad escribió á los Condes de Northumberland ó Westmoreland, February 20, 1570: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] Philip, who was generally credited with having advised Elizabeth's excommunication, was more than innocent of it. He was surprised, displeased, and suspicious, believing that it was connected in some way with a design on the part of the French Government to make an attempt upon England. Don Guerau sent him a copy of the Bull.

'The instrument which you have forwarded to me,' Philip wrote in reply,—'the instrument declaring the Queen of England deprived of

The opportunity might easily be near: the attitude of the French Court towards England had varied during the past year between almost a declaration of hostilities and almost friendship. So long as Mary Stuart and the English Catholics were coquetting with Spain, the French ambassador had held aloof from the conspiracy; when it became clear that Spain did not mean to interfere, the place of protector of the oppressed was again open with its contingent advantages. France could make use of the resentment which would be provoked naturally by the apathy of Alva and Philip, and the death of Murray had created a fresh chance for the recovery of French influence in Scotland. The Huguenots were not expected to rally from the effects of Moncoutour. The Guise influence was in the ascendant, and Catherine leant as usual to the

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ner realm, was the first which I had heard about the business. His Holiness took the step without communicating with me, and I assure you I am not a little surprised at it. Knowing as I do so intimately the condition of that realm, I could have given him better advice than others whose counsels he seems to have followed. He is zealous, and perhaps thinks that only this was wanting to bring about what he desires. I shall be very happy to find that he is right, but my fear is that not only the effect will not be favourable, but that so sudden and ill-advised a measure will only embitter men's humours there and drive the Queen to extremities.'—Philip to Don Guerau, June 20: *MSS. Simancas.*

To his ambassador in Paris, Philip expressed himself yet more vehemently. 'The Pope,' he said, 'should have consulted me before taking this step. I cannot but feel uneasy that it was concealed from me. It means mischief, and we must get to the bottom of it. We must find out especially what the French are after—their usual tricks no doubt. If there be anything of this kind, we may credit it to the Cardinal of Lorraine, whose actions show that you have done him no injustice in the opinion which you have formed of his character.'—Philip to Don Francis de Alava, June 26: TEULET, vol. v.

policy of the predominant party. Accordingly, during the first weeks of the year, the despatches of Sir Henry Norris from Paris were filled with warnings of approaching danger. Elizabeth was to be punished for the encouragement which she and her subjects had given to Coligny. 'The open talk at Paris was of war with England, for the release of the Queen of Scots and the toleration of Papistry.' The Queen-mother told Norris 'that she thought God had sent the beginning of a rebellion to warn his mistress how she assisted rebels against their princes; if the first lesson sufficed not, she must look for sharper scourges.' An army was to be thrown across the Straits, which the Duke of Anjou was to lead, and the Duke was to be rewarded with the hand of the Queen of Scots. The success of Bothwellhaugh had been so encouraging, that the Cardinal of Lorraine engaged a party of assassins to attempt a similar service on Elizabeth. He offered Alva a share of the enterprise, and requested him to make a diversion in Scotland, while Anjou moved on London and Tutbury.

March. That Alva would accept a second part in such a business was exceedingly unlikely. The marriage of the Queen of Scots and the Duke of Anjou was one of the most alarming spectres in Philip's imagination. Don Guerau however suggested that, under shelter of the expected French enterprise, the Duke might attempt the surprise of Tutbury on his own account; it was of great importance that the Queen of Scots should be at liberty, and equally so that

she should not fall into the hands of the French.[1] He had ascertained that she was left to herself between two o'clock at night and nine the following morning; and if Alva would send a ship well manned to some secluded spot on the east coast, with a sufficient number of horses, means could be found, with the help of *Leicester*, whose service it seems had been secured by Chapin,[2] to carry her off to the sea.[3] With a view to an underplot of this kind, and to throw Catherine off her guard, Alva did not answer with entire coldness to the Cardinal of Lorraine's proposals. Sir Henry Norris intimated his fears that there was danger from Flanders as well as from France, unless in some way the Queen of Scots could be got rid of. 'I pray you assure yourself,' he wrote to Cecil on the 9th of March, 'that except they fail of their purpose, they intend the ruin of her Majesty; as you tender her Majesty's preserv-

[1] 'Parece cosa muy conveniente procurar la libertad de la Reyna de Escocia, porque con tenerla presa tiene creydo la Reyna de Inglaterra que ningun Principe Catolico le hará guerra por no poner en peligro la dicha Princesa; y asy tambien es mejor que su libertad no sea por via de los Françeses ni venga á poder dellos, por lo que han mostrado desear de casarla con el Duque de Anjou; antes seria muy al proposito que viniese en poder de su Mag^d, porque se casase á su voluntad, pues para el bien de la religion y seguridad de los Payses Baxos y de V. M^d y la navegacion importaria mucho.' — Don Guerau to Alva, March 7: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] Don Guerau, speaking of some one who was to be sent first to survey the ground where the relays of horses were to be placed, says:— 'Puede traer una carta del Marquis para el Conde de Leicester para procurar la dicha facultad.' Leicester had perhaps deceived Chapin, in order to learn his secrets and betray them; or, as usual, he may have been making his game for all contingencies. No one can tell. Only wherever we come upon his name in these underground passages it is always connected with infamy or treachery of some kind.

[3] Don Guerau to Alva, March 7.

ation, let the Queen of Scots be removed out of the country.'[1]

Don Guerau had been scrupulously secret about the intended escape; but a hint of the plot reached Cecil from Paris. On inquiry at Tutbury, suspicious 'practices' were discovered among the servants, and the guard at the castle was instantly doubled. The locks were taken from the Queen's door, that her rooms might be examined at any hour of the day or night, if 'sudden danger should chance;' and a significant intimation was given to her, that if she tried to fly it might be dangerous.[2] Elizabeth herself too prepared for the worst. Though knowing nothing of the excommunication, she had reason enough to believe that the warnings of Sir Henry Norris might be well founded. There was a general impression that on the events of the year that was opening the fate of the Reformation depended—and with the Reformation, of her own throne. La Mothe Fénelon continued to demand the release or the restoration of Mary Stuart, and it seemed only too likely that a declaration of war would follow unless the Government gave way. The treasury was poorly provided. Elizabeth shrunk from encountering a Parliament with no husband at her side, and with the succession still unsettled; and without a Parliament she could neither raise a subsidy nor confiscate the

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[1] Norris to Cecil, January 2, January 27, March 1, March 9, March 15; Norris to Elizabeth, February 5, March 9: *MSS. France*, *Rolls House.*

[2] John Bateman to Cecil, March 1579: *MSS.* QUEEN OF SCOTS.

estates of the Northern Earls, who could now be only reached through an Act of Attainder. Sir Thomas Gresham however was able to raise a loan in the City. The Spanish treasure was untouched, and could be used in extremity. Every serviceable ship was sent to sea; the musters were called into training on the whole south and west of England; the arms and horses looked to; and officers were chosen who were known as haters of Popes and Papistries. Before March, La Mothe reported that a hundred and twenty thousand men could take the field in different parts of England at a few days' notice, and could be relied upon to defend the country from a French invasion.[1] The defeat of Leonard Dacres came opportunely to strengthen the impression of the Queen's resources; and thus supported, she felt herself able to reply with dignity to the French demands. She was called upon to restore Mary Stuart: she answered with an unexaggerated sketch of Mary Stuart's history. She went over the old ground of the usurped title, the unratified treaty, the marriage with Darnley, and the unceasing intrigues in England. She came next to the murder, of which the Queen of Scots was accused by her subjects of having directly procured; and finally to her flight into England; where, as her murdered husband was Elizabeth's nearest kinsman, an examination into the circumstances of his death was absolutely unavoidable. The Queen of Scots had consented after some objections, and Eliza-

[1] Dépêches de la Mothe Fénelon, February, 1570.

beth had promised that if the charge against her proved to be unfounded, her accusers should be punished, and she herself should be restored to her estate. The evidence however proved so unexpectedly weighty, that the Queen of Scots herself put an end to the inquiry, and refused to allow it to be prosecuted further. Elizabeth had forborne to use the advantage which was thus placed in her hands. She had stood between the Queen of Scots and the infamy with which she would have been overwhelmed had the proofs of her guilt been published, and, in return, the Queen of Scots had stirred up an open rebellion, professedly in the interests of religion, but aimed in reality against Elizabeth's throne and life. This person she was now called upon to set at liberty, or restore to her crown; and to do so would be an act of dangerous folly, which no indifferent person should in conscience require. 'She would not,' Elizabeth said distinctly—'she would not be herself the author to hazard her own person, her state and honour, the quietness of her realm and people, without further consideration how in doing it she could maintain her crown and public peace among her subjects. She dared to appeal to the judgment of any prince or potentate in the world that would profess indifference in judgment: the Queen of Scots herself, and her most affectioned friends, could not think her to deal therein unreasonably.'[1]

Could the French Government have answered that

[1] Instructions to Sir H. Norris: *Conway MSS.*, 1570. *Rolls House.*

the Queen of Scots was a slandered woman; that Elizabeth's pretended care for her honour was but a contrivance to give countenance to accusations which would not endure investigation, they would have replied, that her injustice was aggravated by her hypocrisy; they would have dared her to produce the so-called evidence before the eyes of Europe, that she might herself receive the infamy from which she affected to be shielding Mary Stuart. Was the truth as the defenders of the Queen of Scots maintain, such a challenge would have been more fatal to Elizabeth than the landing on her shores of all the legions of Alva and Anjou; but this could not be; Catherine de Medici had perhaps learnt by this time that Alva's legions would not be at her service, that the Catholics were for the present crushed, and that, as against France, they would stand true to their own Sovereign. She therefore confessed, when Sir H. Norris read the letter to her, that she had nothing to reply to it. She still hoped, she said, that the Queen of Scots might be allowed to leave England, or might be eventually re-established in her own country; but both she and Charles admitted that they could make no further unconditional requests in her favour.[1] If the Queen of England could discover any terms consistent with her own safety on which the restoration could be effected, they said that they would themselves become securities that those terms should be observed; but Charles declared positively that he did

[1] Norris to Cecil, March 15; Norris to Elizabeth, March 17: *MSS. France, Rolls House.*

not mean to interfere, and Catherine afterwards in private spoke even with greater friendliness.

'The unaccustomed smooth speech,' the change of note so sudden and so entire, led Norris 'to suspect false dealing.' The English Government were not lulled into security, but continued their preparations for defence, while the Protestant congregations raised subscriptions to support the Huguenots. Large sums of money continued to be sent to the Admiral, the privateer fleets were let out again, and the English ports were reopened to the Rochelle cruisers. Coligny, who had been wounded at Moncoutour, was once more in the field at the head of an army, and whether the Court was sincere or not in its present moderation, Elizabeth was able to feel that from France, while its present mood lasted, she had nothing to fear, although that mood would probably continue until it had been seen whether, through the death of Murray, the French party would recover their ascendency in Scotland. There it was that she found her chief ground for uneasiness, and the necessity, or what appeared to her a necessity, for an evasive and shuffling policy. The natural, and at first sight the most prudent, course for her would have been to declare for the young King, to acknowledge, once for all, that the Queen of Scots had lost her crown by her own fault, and to refuse to allow the question of restoration to be any more reopened. But in doing this she must have been prepared—either, as she had proposed in the autumn, to replace the Queen of Scots as a prisoner into the hands of the

Protestant party (and in their present state of disorganization Mary Stuart would either be murdered by them immediately or at no distant time would be set at liberty); or else to keep her permanently in England, to be a perpetual occasion of internal trouble. She might have made up her mind to this last alternative, could she be assured that the House of Lorraine would not regain their influence at Paris; but it was unsafe to calculate on French policy for two months together. It was always possible that the fanatically Catholic element in France might obtain the complete control of the Government. France and Spain might then be brought together by the Pope, and the Queen of Scots would be a pretext for a joint declaration of war. The Scotch nobles who were on the Queen's side would become permanently hostile to England, and throw themselves wholly on the French alliance. To keep Maitland, Argyle, and the Gordons therefore in dependence upon herself; to prevent them from joining with the Hamiltons, who were and always would be the determined enemies of England;[1] to discover at last some

[1] The Hamiltons, though nominally on Mary Stuart's side, were as usual working rather for themselves than for her, and were looking steadily on the possible reversion of the Scotch crown. Mary Stuart had named Chatelherault Regent in her absence; but Chatelherault and his family were contemplating the contingency of a fresh inquiry into the Darnley murder, which might terminate both in the Queen and the young Prince being set aside, and in their own establishment upon the throne supported by France.

'In case,' Chatelherault said in a commission which he sent to France and Spain, 'in case all were not dissolved which proceeded of the Earl of Murray and his complices, and thereby the Queen's Grace was not found worthy (as God forbid) to brook the Government, the Prince will not succeed as it is supposed,

possible compromise by which she could reconcile impossibilities, by which she could replace Mary Stuart yet leave her powerless for mischief, with merely the outward insignia of Sovereignty—this was the solution of the problem which commended itself to Elizabeth, as that which, on the whole, promised best for English interests and for her own safety. It was because she had been baffled on this very point when she hoped that she was about to succeed, that she was so much irritated in the past summer with the Earl of Murray and the Convention of Perth. She had allowed herself, apparently without Cecil's knowledge, to correspond in secret with the Earl of Argyle and with Maitland; to encourage them both in upholding Mary Stuart's cause, as she had done before when Mary Stuart was at Lochleven, and to persuade them to trust in her rather than in France. Her secret purposes must remain always extremely obscure. It is possible that she was deliberately dishonest; but, beyond doubt, she led the Earl of Argyle to believe that in thwarting Murray, and in keeping up a party in opposition to him, he was but fulfilling the Queen of England's wishes.[1]

since the right of the crown comes only by her Majesty to him, and therefore will appertain to the said Duke and his successors.'—Commission from the Duke of Chatelherault to the Kings of France and Spain, June, 1570: *MSS. Scotland, Rolls House.*

[1] Argyle himself told Randolph 'that in all things he had done in defence of the Queen his mistress, since the time of her imprisonment in Lochleven, he did it by such advice as the Queen of England had given him, which had caused him since that time to have lost the friendship of others that were very dear to him, even the Lord Regent's self, whose death he minded to see revenged so far as justice and law

A dread of war, a hatred of expense, a sympathy for a sister Sovereign, a dislike of rebellion however necessary or defensible, an intellectual pleasure in a subtle and intricate policy,—all these elements worked perhaps together in Elizabeth's mind, and made her persist in a line of action which she could pursue only in the teeth of her own promises. The effect so far had been a dangerous conspiracy at home, a partial insurrection, and the murder at last of the best friend that she possessed out of her own kingdom. The position was at present complicated by the presence of the refugees on the Border, for whom in the friends of Mary Stuart she had provided only too efficient protectors, while there was another peril which she might have foreseen but which she apparently overlooked. The union of parties which she was trying to bring about in the interests of England, might be effected with equal likelihood in the interests of France. If after the experience of the rebellion she still persisted in endeavouring to thrust the Queen of Scots back upon them, the Protestant noblemen might anticipate her, as Maitland endeavoured to persuade them to do at York, by themselves inviting the Queen of Scots' return. Scotland would at least escape the civil war which was otherwise impending. The demand of a united people, supported as they would be by the French Court, Eliza-

required.' 'I see,' continued Randolph, 'that both he and the Lord Boyd take great heed of the Queen's Majesty's words, and by such talk allure many to their purposes who were not long since of another mind.' —Randolph to Cecil, February 27, 1570: *MSS Scotland.*

beth would be unable to refuse. And she would then lose the chance of exacting conditions for her own security.

In the anarchy which followed the murder of Murray, the English fugitives were undisturbed upon the Border. Leonard Dacres joined them after his defeat, and the Earl of Westmoreland, with all the help which the Buccleuchs, the Homes, the Kers, and the Maxwells could give him, was threatening to return into England and rekindle the insurrection. Scotland was without a Government which could either restrain them or be held responsible to Elizabeth; and unless Elizabeth was roused at last to a more definite policy, it was not unlikely that Chatelherault might be accepted as Regent by all parties, and the young Prince be sent across to Paris.

To prevent this at least, to keep the Protestant leaders together, yet still without power to take the one step which would have recovered their confidence, Randolph at the beginning of February came down to Edinburgh. He was sent, as he bitterly said to Cecil, to feed an angry and anxious party 'with bare words.' On the instant of his arrival he was beset with questions as 'to what was to be done with the Queen of Scots.' He found those from whom he most expected support, possessed with a conviction 'that she would some time be sent home against their will;' and he was forced to see that 'until they could be assured that it should pass her power to do them evil, there could be no good assurance of their hearts towards England.'[1]

February.

[1] Randolph to Cecil, February 7, February 22: *MSS. Scotland.*

Had Scotland remained as he had known it ten years before—a country without a people, a country of noblemen and gentlemen where the commons had no existence except as servants or retainers or dependants, the shot which killed Murray would have killed the Reformation. The first champions of the cause, the Lords of the Congregation, were divided, distracted, bankrupt in fortune and principle, and with little heart to continue the struggle; but it was not for nothing that John Knox had for ten years preached in Edinburgh, and his words been echoed from a thousand pulpits. The murders, the adulteries, the Bothwell scandals, and other monstrous games which had been played before heaven there since the return of the Queen from France, had been like whirlwinds fanning the fire of the new teaching. Princes and Lords only might have noble blood, but every Scot had a soul to be saved, a conscience to be outraged by these enormous doings, and an arm to strike with in revenge for them. Elsewhere the plebeian element of nations had risen to power through the arts and industries which make men rich—the commons of Scotland were sons of their religion: while the nobles were splitting into factions, chasing their small ambitions, taking securities for their fortunes, or entangling themselves in political intrigues, the tradesmen, the mechanics, the poor tillers of the soil, had sprung suddenly into consciousness with spiritual convictions for which they were prepared to live and die. The fear of God in them left no room for the fear of any other thing, and in the very fierce intolerance which Knox had poured into their veins they had become a

force in the State. The poor clay which a generation earlier the haughty baron would have trodden into slime, had been heated red-hot in the furnace of a new faith; and Randolph, though at first he could ill realize the change, found himself in an altered world. With Murray was gone all that was conciliatory, all that was gentle, all that was chivalrous in Scottish Protestantism. It was shaped by Knox into a creed for the people—a creed in which the ten commandments were more important than the sciences, and the Bible than all the literature of the world; narrow, fierce, defiant, but hard as steel, and with strength enough to prevent Elizabeth's diplomacies from ruining both herself and Scotland.

The first public act of Randolph was to take part in a mournful solemnity. The body of the Regent Murray was brought from Linlithgow to Leith, and thence on the 14th of February to its resting-place in St Giles' church. The country for the moment forgot its feuds to pay honour to the noblest of Scotland's sons. Lords and gentlemen, knights and citizens, all who were able, came together to take part in the sad procession. The standard was borne by Grange. Five earls and three barons[1] carried the coffin, and behind was a train of mourners 'in such sorrow' as Randolph 'never saw.' Three thousand people were in the church, and the funeral sermon was preached by Knox. His text was 'Blessed are the dead which die in the

[1] Morton, Mar, Glencairn, Cassilis, Ruthven, Lindsay, Ochiltree, and Glamis.

Lord.' His words have not been preserved, but in all that iron crowd there was not a man but was in tears.[1]

[1] Something of what Knox said may be conjectured from a prayer with which he closed a second sermon in the same place on the following day. 'Oh Lord, what we shall add to the former petition we know not: yea alas, oh Lord, our own consciences bear us record that we are unworthy that Thou should'st either increase or yet continue thy graces with us by reason of our horrible ingratitude. In our extreme miseries we called, and Thou, in the multitude of thy mercies, heard us; and first Thou delivered'st us from the idolatry of merciless strangers; and last from the yoke of that wretched woman, the mother of all mischief; and in her place Thou didst erect her son; and to supply his infancy Thou didst appoint a Regent endued with such graces as the Devil himself cannot accuse or justly convict him; this only excepted, that foolish pity did so far prevail in him concerning execution and punishment which Thou commanded'st to have been executed upon her and upon her complices, the murderers of her husband. Oh Lord, in what misery and confusion found he this realm! and to what rest and quietness now by his labours suddenly he brought the same, all estates, but specially the poor Commons, can witness. Thy image, Lord, did so clearly shine in that personage that the Devil and the wicked to whom he is prince could not abide it; and so to punish our sins and ingratitude, who did not rightly esteem so precious a gift, Thou hast permitted him to fall, to our great grief, in the hands of cruel and traitorous murderers. He is at rest, oh Lord, and we are left in extreme misery. Be merciful to us, and suffer not Satan utterly to prevail against thy little flock within this realm. Neither yet, oh Lord, let bloodthirsty men come to the end of their wicked enterprises. Preserve, oh Lord, our young King: although he be an infant give unto him the spirit of sanctification, with increase of the same as he groweth in years. Let his reign, oh Lord, be such as Thou may'st be glorified and Thy little flock comforted by it, seeing that we are now left as a flock without a pastor in civil policy and as a ship without a rudder in the midst of the storm. Let Thy providence watch, Lord, and defend us in these dangerous days, that the wicked of the world may see that as well without the help of man as with it Thou art able to rule, maintain, and defend the little flock that dependeth upon Thee. And because, oh Lord, the shedding of innocent blood has ever been and yet is odious in Thy presence, yea, that it defileth the whole land when it is shed and not punished, we crave of Thee, for Christ thy Son's sake, that Thou wilt so try and punish the two treasonable and cruel murders lately committed, that the inventors, devisers, authors, and

His words, whatever they were, augured ill for compromise. To him and to the Scotch commons Mary Stuart was simply a wicked woman, whose rights, could they have been accurately ascertained, were a short shrift and six feet of rope. The nobles had tough consciences and had estates to lose, and as Elizabeth had prevented them from hanging the Queen, her restoration did not seem impossible to them. The commons however would as soon be subject to Satan. Few or none of the lords cared in their hearts to see Mary Stuart again among them; and as there was a sincere desire to save the country from bloodshed, they were willing, in the first emotion which followed Murray's death, to come to any settlement which Elizabeth would allow to endure. Smaller jealousies and smaller aims were laid aside. Maitland, after the funeral, came down from the Castle, and was acquitted by acclamation of all charges against him, and a private meeting was held at Dalkeith, at which Argyle was present, to determine whether another Regent should be chosen in Murray's

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maintainers of treasonable cruelty may be either thoroughly convicted or confounded. Oh Lord, if Thy mercy prevent not we cannot escape just condemnation, for that Scotland hath spared and England hath maintained the life of that most wicked woman. Oppose Thy power, oh Lord, to the pride of that cruel murderess of her own husband; confound her faction and their subtle enterprises of what estate and condition soever they be; and let them and the world know that Thou art a God that can deprehend the wise in their own wisdom, and the proud in the imagination of their wicked hearts to their everlasting confusion. Lord, retain us that call upon Thee in Thy true fear. Let us grow in the same. Give Thou strength to us to fight our battle, yea, Lord, to fight it lawfully, and to end our lives in the sanctification of Thy holy name.'—Works of John Knox, vol. vi. pp. 569, 570.

place. Randolph was sent for and required to say what Elizabeth wished. He was unable to answer. Was the Queen to return? He could not tell. Would Elizabeth recognize James? He was forbidden to make a positive statement. The lords were in no humour to be trifled with. Maitland repeated his conviction that the Queen would be restored. Argyle had received letters from the Queen of England which pointed to the same conclusion. The meeting broke up without a resolution, but Morton, who had succeeded Murray as the political leader of the Protestants, wrote to Elizabeth to say that unless she could resolve one way or the other all Scotland would cry 'France,' and the influence of England would be irrevocably lost.[1] March.

Compelled in this way to commit herself more deeply than she had intended, Elizabeth relaxed something of her excessive caution. She herself, or Cecil for her,[2] directed Randolph to tell Morton and his friends 'that she remained resolute in all things which concerned the maintainance of the true Christian Religion among them, the preservation of their King'—she had never used the word before—'and consequently of their own particular states and degrees.' 'She desired them not to be perplexed with reports of devices for the Queen's restoration;' 'she would consent to nothing till she might first understand their intentions for

[1] Dépêches de la Mothe Fénelon, March 13.

[2] Elizabeth to Randolph, February 27: *MSS. Scotland.* The draft of the letter is in Cecil's hand throughout.

themselves.' It had been intimated to her that if a new Regency was to be appointed in the King's name, the only possible rival to Chatelherault would be his old antagonist the Earl of Lennox. He was a Catholic, but as the Queen's grandfather and the prosecutor of Bothwell, his goodwill could be depended upon; and she said that if it was absolutely necessary to choose some one, she would not refuse her sanction.[1]

At the same time, as an indication of further intentions which she did not care to explain, she said that the state of the Border was intolerable and at all hazards must be immediately looked to. She would not allow her own rebellious subjects to use the shelter of Scottish territory to make war upon England; and unless the Scotch council 'saw the matter redressed,' 'she would reform it herself in such sharp manner as the offenders should repent themselves, and be unable to commit the like again.'

Elizabeth had created the party by whom Westmoreland and Dacres were now supported. Sir Robert Constable's treacheries had come to nothing, and she had a plausible excuse to undo some part at least of her own work. If she sent troops across the Border to break up the nest of marauders at Fernihurst, she would virtually break the power which the Protestant noblemen had most occasion to fear. She dared not interfere

[1] Lennox was in London, begging hard to be allowed to return to Scotland in any capacity. He expected, and Lady Lennox expected, that the Prince would be murdered, and they were both anxious that, if possible, he should be brought to England.—Lady Lennox to Cecil, February, 1570: *Cotton. MSS.* CALIG. C. I.

avowedly in their favour for fear of a rupture with France. She intended to confine her actions behind the plea of her own defence. She was entitled to deal with the existing nominal Government in Scotland for purposes of ordinary justice. She instructed Randolph therefore to require the council to maintain the peace of the Border and the existing treaties with England, and to offer them the assistance of her own forces if their own means were insufficient. She told him to point out to Morton that, 'whereas he had asked for help from England against the faction in arms against the King, she was content to give him what he wanted. The form would be different but the result would be the same; the persons of whom she complained being notorious enemies of the young King, and of the nobility adhering to him. Morton would perhaps inquire whether she intended to take full part with them and declare herself a party to the maintenance of the King in his present state. In that case Randolph might tell him that if he would consider, the effect of his desire must needs follow. It might not be expressed in words that the army came to maintain the King, yet it would suppress those who were the King's adversaries. There were considerations which made it undesirable for the Queen of England to take upon herself, in words, the office of a judge, and pronounce by a formal act on the lawfulness of the Queen of Scots' dethronement. It was enough for her that Scotland had appointed by Parliament a *de facto* Government for itself. England would not intermeddle so far as to say that Scotland was right or wrong in

what it had done, but so far Randolph might promise, that if the noblemen who had hitherto been favourable to the English alliance would assist in executing the law against the rebels and their maintainers, the Queen of England would identify her cause with theirs against any who on that ground should seek to oppose them.'[1]

As usual when action became imperative, when it was absolutely necessary to do something or to lose the game, Cecil carried his point. The substance of these directions had been drawn up in a private conference on the 16th of March, by him and Bacon, and although the Queen was as far as ever from the only course which could give peace to Scotland or security to herself, enough would be done to enable the King's friends to hold their ground. The soldiers who had been so hastily dismissed after the suppression of the rebellion were again collected, of course at an increased expense. Four thousand men were to assemble at Berwick by the second week in April, and Sussex was ordered up from York to take the command. He was directed to put himself in communication with Morton and Mar, and having obtained their consent in the King's name, he was to cross the Border, seize Westmoreland, Leonard Dacres, and the Nortons, or force them to leave Scotland, and was to inflict condign punishment on the Border chiefs who had assisted them in their inroads into Northumberland.[2]

It was not however without efforts almost desperate

[1] Instructions to Randolph, March 18, abridged: *MSS. Scotland*

[2] Instructions to Sussex, March, 1570· *MSS. Border.*

that Elizabeth's consent had been obtained to these measures, nor till the troops were actually over the Border could Cecil feel assured that the order would not be revoked. The English Court below the surface was seething with intrigue, and the base influence of the Queen's favourites was at work perpetually to undo or neutralize the counsels of her statesmen.

On the breaking up of the conference at Dalkeith, Mary Stuart's friends had been as busy as the King's. The temper of Scotland was in many ways unfavourable to the English alliance. The demand for the extradition of the refugees had touched the pride of the country; and in the general ill-humour, to invite or sanction an English invasion would be construed into national treason. So long as Elizabeth withheld the recognition of James, she deprived Morton of the solitary pretence with which he could accept the assistance of the detested Saxons, and she took from him and his party the only ground on which they could confidently rely upon her promises. They knew, and all Scotland knew, that Elizabeth was not Cecil. They knew that she had a perpetual secret leaning to a weak and yielding policy, and they had seen, in her treatment of Murray, with what indifference she could fling over her most faithful adherents, if it became convenient to disown and desert them. Randolph was obliged to report that 'the remedy offered by his mistress was so little accounted as though she was not worthy to be esteemed a friend;' and meanwhile Argyle and Maitland, pretending still, and not without reason, that they and not the

Protestants were those whom she really favoured, were flying about the country with Westmoreland and Dacres in their company, holding meetings in Mary Stuart's interest. Although Charles IX. had told Norris that he did not mean to interfere, he told the Scots that he would abstain only while Elizabeth abstained. M. de Virac came to Dumbarton with money and promises, 'scattering doubt, division, and uncertainty.' The refugees professed to represent the English aristocracy and the political sentiment of England, and a paper of conditions was circulated calling itself the opinion of the Peers, on the measures to be taken for a general settlement of the whole island. A complete amnesty was to be proclaimed for the late rebellion; the Queen of Scots was to be restored and accepted as Elizabeth's successor; while the religious differences were to be composed by universal toleration, to which the Pope and the Catholic Powers might be expected to consent.[1]

Such terms could not have been enforced, even in Scotland, till many a homestead had been made desolate. Darnley's ghost still wandered unrevenged. The murder at Linlithgow was fresh, and these were not wounds to be skinned over with pleasant remedies. A black banner was hung out in Edinburgh, on which again, as at Carberry, there was wrought the figure of the King under the tree, the infant James with clasped hands lifted up to heaven, and beside them 'the Regent in his bed as he died with his wound open.'[2] But the poli-

[1] Questions to be proposed if the Pope's Holiness and the foreign princes will thereto agree, April 3: *MSS. Border.*

[2] Randolph to Cecil, March 1: *MSS. Scotland.*

ticians could not understand the times. Among men who had lands to forfeit or to gain, who had Court favour to aspire to, or schemes to gratify for national greatness or glory, the cry of the hour was for a 'composition;' and foremost among the advocates of the Queen's restoration was Maitland of Lethington. There had been a moment after Murray's death when a word from Elizabeth would have recalled Maitland to her side and Cecil's; but that word had not been spoken. He was deep in the English conspiracy; deep with Norfolk, Lumley, Arundel, Southampton, with all the leaders of the Catholic reaction. He had set his heart on the recall of Mary Stuart. He believed that he could unite Scotland in her favour, and backed as she already was in England, that he could extort at last the fulfil ment of his old proud passionate hope—the establishment of a Scottish sovereign on the throne of the Edwards. Had Elizabeth acknowledged James as her successor, he and all Scotland with him would have been entirely satisfied; but Elizabeth had refused to hear of it, and as she would not accept the son, she should be compelled to endure the mother. If Pope, Priest, and Mass Book came back in the process, Pope, Priest, and Mass Book would not be a price too dear. How had Maitland become so changed—Maitland, who had once worked side by side with Knox, and had been Murray's nearest adviser—Maitland, the pupil and admirer of Cecil, the chief political instrument of the first revolution which had brought the English to Leith? It was a question which his old English friends could not too often ask him, and which he himself never

adequately answered. He had married one of the 'Queen's Maries,' Lord Fleming's daughter, to whom he was passionately attached, and through whom he had been brought in connection with the great Catholic families. But a wife's influence, however tender, would not have weakened the brain of such a man as Maitland; and the explanation must be looked for in the constitution of his character. Through all his changes he was always pursuing one object—the union of the Crowns under a Scottish sovereign: whether that sovereign was Arran, Mary, James, or again Mary, mattered little. After the Bothwell marriage he had believed Mary to be ruined. He had expected that Elizabeth, for her own safety's sake, would have acknowledged the little Prince. When he found himself mistaken, when he found the English Queen weak, hesitating, uncertain, and the English nobility ready, on the other hand, to overlook Mary's misdemeanours and accept her, notwithstanding, as heir-presumptive, he believed evidently that Elizabeth's star was setting, that in her vacillation she was going the road to perdition. The exceptional confidence with which Elizabeth treated him led him to suppose that he saw deeper into her tortuous ways than other men. He assured himself that, sooner or later, she would yield to pressure and let Mary Stuart go. In yielding he knew that she would be destroyed; and he set his hand therefore to assist his mistress towards the passionately-coveted object of his and her ambition.

And perhaps another influence was not without its

effect upon him. He was too thorough a man of the world to view with anything but dislike the assumptions of the rising Kirk. 'To the philosopher,' says Gibbon, 'all religions are equally false;' 'to the statesman all are equally useful.' But the statesman makes it a condition of his patronage that the clergy shall confine themselves to their own province as moral and spiritual teachers. If they become aggressive; if they meddle with government, pretending to be interpreters of the will of God; above all, if they have power to make themselves practically troublesome, the complaisance of the statesman is rapidly converted into enmity.

Nothing but accident could at any time have brought together men so essentially different as Knox and Maitland. They represented the very opposite poles of Scottish character. 'The will of God,' was to Knox the supreme and solitary guide. To Maitland it seemed, from words which he let fall in his confidential hours, that God was 'ane Bogill of the nursery.' Each crossed the other's path at a thousand turns. When he could knead the other ministers like clay, Maitland had ever found Knox inflexible. He could not deceive him, for Knox with mere earthly eyes could see as far or farther than Maitland, and Maitland who, if heaven was empty, acknowledged the divinity of intellect, came soon to detest what he could not afford to despise. These, or something like them, were the keys to the conduct of this remarkable man. His health was gone, his body was half paralyzed, but his wit remained as keen as ever; and from this time till his death he be-

came the chief adviser of the Scottish Queen in her English prison, and the mainstay of her party throughout the island.[1] Randolph, hardly able as yet to realize the change which had passed over him, addressed him on the old terms, appealed to his friendship, and reminded him of the especial reliance which Elizabeth placed in him. Maitland was aware that she trusted him, and intended to make use of her weakness. While Morton was addressing her through Randolph and Cecil, Maitland approached her through Leicester. 'He wished,' he said, 'to explain to her distinctly the condition of Scottish parties. There were two parties there—the King's and the Queen's: the first was composed of a certain number of the Nobility and the Commons, whom, as he understood, the Queen of England was advised to support; the other consisted of the heads of all the greatest families in the country, confident in the goodness of their cause, and assured that all kings allowed their quarrel and would aid them accordingly. A second division had been created by the death of the Regent, grounded upon the regimen of the realm. The nobles who had deposed the Queen claimed to govern in virtue of the commission which was extorted from her at Lochleven; but even among those who had been hitherto for the King there were many who thought it neither

[1] Randolph's account of him at this period is interesting. 'I doubt nothing of him now,' he wrote, 'so much as the length of his life. He hath only his heart whole and his stomach good; with an honest mind much more given to policy than to Mr Knox's preaching. His legs are clean gone. His body so weak that it sustaineth not itself. His inward parts so feeble that to endure to neese he cannot for annoying the whole body. To this the blessed joy of a young wife hath brought him. —Randolph to Cecil, March 1.

fit nor tolerable that three or four of the meanest sort among the Earls should presume to challenge to themselves the rule of the whole realm; or that the first in rank, the next of blood, the greatest for degree and ancientry, should be passed over, the meaner to command, the greater as private men to obey. This was against all reason and all precedent; and the Queen's party was thus increased with part of the King's. Public feeling was decisively declaring itself on her side, and yet her friends now understood that English troops were coming into Scotland to suppress them. They would of course, in that case, apply for help to France. De Virac was waiting at that moment for their resolution, and there could be no doubt what that resolution would be. The slightest of the evils which would follow would be a heavy expense to England; and he wished to lay before her Majesty a few simple facts. She desired to retain Scotland at her devotion; it was an honourable object and not to be disallowed. But the road to that devotion did not lie through the support of a faction. The Scots were not so faint-hearted, but they had courage to provide for their safety. Force would accomplish nothing, while, by way of treaty, Elizabeth might bring all parties to accord, pacify the country, and deserve and win the gratitude of the whole country. They would then think no more of France, and the fire of the civil war which was on the point of bursting out would be extinguished.'[1]

Leicester before this letter arrived had been at work

[1] Maitland to Leicester, March 29, abridged: *MSS. Scotland.*

on another part of the same policy, endeavouring to persuade the Queen to liberate Norfolk and restore to the privy council the party opposed to Cecil, who had fallen into disgrace in the autumn. Anticipating, like Maitland, Elizabeth's fall, he was preparing for the evil day by scheming with La Mothe Fénelon to do some service to her expected successor. In all his projects Cecil was his perpetual obstacle, and to injure Cecil in the estimation of his Sovereign was his constant but unsuccessful effort. To raise a feeling against him among the people, a story was circulated by himself or by one of his agents that Cecil and Bacon had proposed to murder Norfolk in the Tower, and would have done it but for his own interference.[1] He complained to the French ambassador that Cecil was watching for an opportunity to drive him from the council as he had driven Arundel and Lumley,[2] and that he held the Queen enchanted with jealous fears of the Queen of Scots. Unable to shake Cecil's credit, Leicester had been more successful in inducing the Queen to recall Lord Arundel. Times were changed since Fitzalan had been Leicester's rival for Elizabeth's hand, since he had called Anne Robsart's shadow out of the tomb to wave Leicester back from his presumption. Fitzalan's hopes had long been buried, and his passion and his ambition had been turned upon political and spiritual intrigue.

[1] Chester to Cecil, March 3. Examination of Robert Spence, March 7: *MSS. Domestic, Rolls House.*

[2] 'Sans ce que Cecil le guettoit pour le desarçonner, ainsi qu'il avoit desarçonné les autres principaulx du Conseil.'—Dépêches de La Mothe Fénelon, March 27.

His name appeared conspicuously in the depositions of the prisoners examined after the Northern rebellion,[1] but he had been too prudent to commit himself to open treason. He was able to represent his share of the conspiracy as part of an honest policy conceived in Elizabeth's interests, and Elizabeth dared not openly break with the still powerful party among the nobles to which Arundel belonged, who professed to desire nothing more than the restoration of the Queen of Scots, her recognition as heir-presumptive, the removal of Cecil from office, and a return to a better understanding with the Catholic Powers. With Arundel was recalled also his son-in-law Lord Lumley, and they both of them lost not an hour in renewing their treasonable communications with Don Guerau and La Mothe Fénelon. They spoke in the same language which they had used before the rebellion. They meant to overthrow Cecil and Bacon, release the Duke of Norfolk, marry him to the Queen of Scots, and restore the Catholic religion.[2] The Duke of Norfolk was to be liberated as soon as possible and sent down to the Eastern counties among his own people; and meanwhile Cecil should not be allowed to

[1] Confession of Christofer Norton and Captain Styrley, April, 1570: *Domestic MSS.*

[2] If they could not move the Queen by fair means, they said 'qu'ils en essayeront quelque autre plus violent; car desirant, comment que soit, pourvoir aulx desordres de ce Royaulme, et au faict de la Royne d'Escosse, et aulx affaires du Duc de Norfolk, et encores plus expressement s'ilz peuvent quant ils en auront le moyen au restablissement de la religion Catholique, pour lesquelles quatre choses ils veulent tout hazarder.'—March 27, Dépêches de La Mothe Fénelon.

Don Guerau wrote to Philip on the same day exactly to the same purpose.

trouble Scotland. The fugitive Earls should remain there till France or Spain or both would send them assistance; they would then come back over the Borders, and England would rise to receive them.[1]

These were the men whom Leicester had brought back to Elizabeth's side, and their first effort was to impress upon her the necessity of taking the advice of Maitland, and of abandoning the hope of extricating herself by force from the combinations which were threatening her. France and Spain, they told her, did not mean to endure any longer the insolence of the pirates and the English sympathizers with the Protestant insurgents. She must set her house in order, make up her differences with the Queen of Scots, and pardon the Northern Earls, or she was lost.[2]

Elizabeth listened with outward acquiescence. If she acted with Cecil, she talked, except at great and trying moments, in the language of his opponents. She apologized to Arundel for her severity towards him. She spoke of releasing Norfolk. She said she would think again before Sussex should cross the Borders. 'The Queen,' wrote La Mothe, 'agrees at heart with the nobles, she is well disposed towards the Catholics, and many times has refused to listen to the sinister advice of their enemies; if she could she would live at peace with all parties in her realm.'[3]

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[1] Dépêches de La Mothe Fénelon, March 27.

[2] Ibid.

[3] 'Ceste princesse n'a le cœur ny l'intention, esloignée de celle de sa noblesse, ny n'est mal affectionnée à ses subjectz Catholiques, pour lesquelz elle resiste assez souvent aulx conseilz que leurs adversaires luy donnent contre eulx, affin que avec

But the Catholics would not leave her alone or give time to her yielding humour to settle into purpose. They forced La Mothe, against his better judgment, to threaten her with war. The Cardinal of Lorraine's assassination plot was whispered abroad to frighten her. She was herself to die as well as Cecil. The Queen of Scots was supposed to be at work on the same project. The Queen of Scots had found one bravo to kill Murray. It was reported that she was looking for another to kill Elizabeth; 'she was as willing to have the end of the one as she was of the other.'[1] Elizabeth might have despised mere rumours, but the outward acts of the Queen's party in Scotland were provoking and defiant. While she was pausing over the orders to Sussex, a great convention was held at Linlithgow: Chatelherault presided; Argyle, Huntly, Sutherland, Athol, the heads of the great families of whom Maitland wrote, were all assembled; and with singular imprudence Lord Fleming introduced among them the English refugees. Northumberland was in confinement at Lochleven, but of the rest not one was absent. Dacres and Westmoreland 'sat in council' as representing the wishes of England; de Virac was present for France; and Sir John Gordon was sent to Elizabeth, in the name of them all, to request her to give them back their Queen, and to protest against the violation of Scotch territory by an English army.

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les ungs et les aultres elle puisse passer son regne en paix.'—Dépêches, April 18.

[1] Randolph to Cecil, April 14: *MSS. Scotland.*

Elizabeth was touched to the quick. She could have borne the remonstrances of the Scots. It might be necessary to restore Mary Stuart—it seemed that she was slowly making up her mind to it,[1]—but the Lords at Linlithgow were not to suppose that they might maintain her revolted subjects in arms, assist them in open invasion, and parade their insolence before the world.

The four thousand men were by this time collected at Berwick. Sussex had gone up to assume the command, and had written to Morton to learn what part he intended to take. It would have been death to Morton, in the existing excitement, had he seemed to sanction an English inroad, unless it was undertaken avowedly to maintain the King. The irritation was so violent at Edinburgh that Randolph had been obliged to leave the town and join Sussex, and Morton could only say that till Elizabeth was pleased to declare her purposes with less obscurity he could do nothing.[2] She had been on the point of revoking Sussex's commission, but in her anger at the convention it had been allowed to stand, and Sussex, sending to Morton to say that in what he was about to do he intended merely to chastise such of the Borderers as had made incursions into England, prepared to execute the Queen's original commands. 'Before the light of the coming moon was

[1] La Mothe writes, 'qu'elle est bien disposée envers sa personne et sa vie, comme je crois qu'elle ny a heu jamais mauvaise intention, et que mesme elle goutte aulcunement sa restitution et ne la rejecte tant qu'elle souloit.' — Dépêches, April 18.

[2] Sussex to Elizabeth, April 10: *MSS. Border.*

passed' he proposed to leave a memory in Scotland, whereby they and their children should be afraid to offer war to England.[1]

A messenger from the Lords came to say that 'if he entered in hostile manner they would not allow it; his mistress might not take upon herself to order the realm of Scotland.'. They had written again to Elizabeth, and they required him to hold his hand till an answer could be returned.[2] Sussex, anxious to recover his credit for energy, declined to wait till his mistress had changed her mind. He replied that 'he neither dared nor would forbear to use her Majesty's forces against her rebels wheresoever they might be, or against those who had broken the peace, burned and killed her Majesty's subjects, and taken and destroyed their goods. His proceedings should be rather an execution of justice worthy to be allowed of all Scottishmen than a troubling of the amity; and if any of their Lordships took arms in defence of their persons and brought themselves within the complice of their wickedness, he would nevertheless pass forward in the performance of the Queen his Sovereign's just intentions.'[3]

Despatching a courier with copies of this correspondence to London, he arranged the details of the invasion. The soldiers were Southerners. The Border levies, exposed as they would be to after vengeance, could not be relied upon to do the intended work with sufficient

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[1] Sussex to Cecil, April 10: *MSS. Border.*

[2] Petition of the Lords at Linlithgow, April 16: *MSS. Scotland.*

[3] Sussex to the Lords in Scotland, April 17: *MSS. Scotland.*

effect. Seven hundred men were sent to Carlisle, to Scrope, and a thousand to Sir John Foster on the Middle Marches; the remainder were kept at Berwick with Sussex himself and Hunsdon. The line was to be crossed the same day and hour at three different points. Sussex was to march direct to Kelso and follow the line of the Teviot upwards. Foster was to enter half way between Carlisle and Berwick, and Scrope was left to his discretion, to go where he could inflict greatest injury. On the evening of Monday, the 17th of April, the two noblemen left Berwick. They halted at Wark till daybreak the following morning, when they burned Kelso, and then passed up Teviotdale in two bodies on either side of the river, 'leaving neither castle, tower, nor town undestroyed till they came to Jedburgh.' Every stone building, large or small, was blown up with powder and left a pile of ruin, while Leonard Dacres and Lord Hume hovered about at a safe distance, but did not dare to approach. At Jedburgh they were joined by Foster, whose track from the Cheviots had been marked by the same broad belt of desolation. The next day the whole body moved up the glen to Fernihurst. They found it deserted, the laird and his gay lady; the refugees, and the thousand Border thieves who had nestled in its outhouses, being all flown or hiding among the cliffs which overhang the banks of the Jedd. With powder and pickaxe they 'rent and tore' the solid masonry, till not a man could find shelter from the rain among the ruins; and thence, still sparing nothing but the earth cabins of the poor, they advanced to Hawick. At Hawick the

inhabitants, 'like unjust men' (so Hunsdon called them), had stripped the thatch from their houses, and had set it on fire in the street, so that the soldiers could not enter the town and were obliged to sleep 'uneasily'—they had no tents with them—in the open air. On Thursday morning they finished the work which the people had begun, by burning everything that was left; after which, while Foster was making an end of 'the towns and villages' adjoining, Sussex and Hunsdon, with two or three companies of horse, rode out to Branxholme to do vengeance on Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch. The Scotts were so powerful that Branxholme had been a kind of sanctuary. They found it 'a very strong house well set with pleasant gardens and orchards about it well kept,' a little island of beauty in the surrounding black desolation. Buccleuch had anticipated the invaders by himself applying the torch, and 'the woodwork was burnt to their hand as cruelly as they could have burnt it themselves;' but the place would still serve the purpose of a fortress; Sussex therefore laid powder barrels in the cellar, and of the present 'house' there are but a few fragments which survived that desolating visit.

From Hawick the soldiers spread in parties about the country, converging back upon Jedburgh and Kelso, and thence at the end of the week they returned to Berwick, not a Scot having ventured a stroke to save his property.

Scrope meanwhile had been no less active. Buccleuch and Fernihurst were the chief offenders on the

east Marches. Scrope's duty was to inflict chastisement on Herries and Maxwell. On the Tuesday night he crossed the Esk and began his work at daybreak on Wednesday, at Ecclesfechan. After destroying this he burnt the country to the south and east of Dumfries and round by Cummartrees to Annan. Eight or ten villages, called towns in the old reports, were set on fire, and the corn, cattle, and all they contained consumed or carried off. As his numbers were smaller, the Scots looked on less patiently; a party whom Scrope had detached under one of the Musgraves to destroy a place called Blackshaw, was set upon by Maxwell and was in some danger; but Scrope coming up himself while the fight was going on, the Scots drew off into the woods, and Musgrave finished his work at leisure.

There remained Hume Castle, which had been specially fortified and was held by a garrison. This stronghold at least the Scots expected would be safe, and they had carried such property as they could move within its walls. The beginning of the following week, Sussex brought heavy guns from Berwick, and took it after four hours' bombardment. Fastcastle, the Wolf's Crag of the 'Bride of Lammermoor," followed the next day, and both there and at Hume parties of English were posted, to hold them from the Scots. In the whole foray 'ninety strong castles, houses, and dwelling-places, with three hundred towns and villages, had been utterly destroyed.' Peels, towers, forts, every thieves' nest within twenty miles of the Border, were laid in ruins, and Sussex, whatever else might be the effect,

had provided for some time to come for the quiet of the English Marches.[1]

How the pride of Scotland would bear such a touch of the English lash was another question: there were few differences among themselves which the Scots would not forget till a blow from England had been paid back with interest; and Morton, and Morton's friends, were not likely to incur the reproach of being traitors to their country for the thankless service of Elizabeth. Had they been willing, they were powerless, for they had ruined their fortunes in maintaining Murray's Regency, and Morton, Ruthven, and Lindsay together could scarcely keep on foot two hundred men.[2] On hearing of the foray they sent to Berwick to say, that they neither would nor could continue their present attitude. Elizabeth must speak out plainly, or they would make terms with the Hamiltons. 'Ye think,' wrote Grange to Randolph, 'ye think by the division that is among us, ye will be judge and party; ye have wrecked Teviotdale, your mistress's honour is repaired, and I pray you seek to do us no more harm, for in the end you will lose more than you can gain. The Queen your mistress shall spend mickle silver, and tyne our hearts in the end; for whatever you do to any Scotchman the haill nation will think their own interest.'[3]

[1] Notes of the raids made into Scotland by the Earl of Sussex, April, 1570: *Conway MSS.* Hunsdon to Cecil, April 23: *MSS. Border.* Scrope to Sussex, April 21: *MSS. Scotland.*

[2] Lennox to Cecil, April 27: *MSS. Scotland.*

[3] Grange to Randolph, April 20. Grange had been a fellow-student with Randolph at a French university, and still wrote to him, half in irony, as 'Brother Thomas'

'The Queen,' wrote Sussex, 'must discover herself plainly to maintain the King's authority,' or England will not have a friend left in Scotland.[1]

The resentment must have been foreseen and may easily have been desired by Cecil, as likely to compel Elizabeth to a decided course at last. The question of Mary Stuart's restoration was still daily debated in the council: 'Cecil and Bacon said no, the nobility said yea; while the Queen was supposed to stand indifferent, and to wish to do what was most for her strength, if she wist what that might be.'[2] Yet it seemed as if her resolution had failed after one bold step. She continued privately to write to Maitland, and Maitland was able to give out that Mary Stuart was certainly coming back;[3] and with this prospect the King's party felt obliged, in common prudence, to make their peace without longer delay. It might have been thought that Elizabeth would have had no objection. A composition, a reconciliation of parties, and a voluntary reacceptance of the deposed Queen, had been all along what she seemed to have desired. But she had conditions, necessary as she supposed for her own security, which she meant to make the price of Mary Stuart's release, and she could extort them only so long as a King's party continued in Scotland, whom she could threaten to sup-

[1] Sussex to Cecil, April 23: *MSS. Scotland.*

[2] Sir Francis Engleficld to Mrs Essex, April 21: *MSS. Spain, Rolls House.*

[3] 'Lidington gives out plainly that the Queen of England is determined to send home their Queen and maintain her faction, and this encourages them and appals their contrary.'—Hunsdon to Cecil: *MSS Border*, April 23.

port if they were refused. If a united Scottish Parliament demanded her liberation, Elizabeth knew that she could not dare any longer to detain her, and the Leith treaty would be left unsigned, and Mary Stuart, with half her subjects at her back, would again call herself Queen of England. The Protestant Lords perfectly understood her embarrassment and had no intention of sacrificing themselves for her convenience.[1]

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[1] Sussex performed the ungracious office of forcing Elizabeth to look the situation in the face.

'The King's Lords,' he wrote to her, 'for lack of maintenance see only destruction to themselves; the rather for that it is delivered to them that your Majesty intends to restore their mistress. If it be your Majesty's intention to bring all Scotland to the mother's side, then is the course good they now begin to run in that country, and your Highness shall see the case at an end quickly, which, under correction, had been better to have been done under your direction than at their own choice. If, on the other hand, your Majesty intend to let this course and to continue a party for the child, then must you of necessity openly take upon you the maintenance of his authority as King; send presently money to such as take his part to levy for a time men of war of their own, and aid them besides with your forces here to bring the rest to yield to that authority: to get in their hands all the strengths in any part of the realm that stand in fit place to receive any foreign power.'—Sussex to Elizabeth, April 23: *MSS. Scotland.*

Two days later he wrote to the same effect to Cecil.

'If her Majesty lack a sufficient party, the fault is in herself. Morton and his faction say that if she will enter into public maintenance of the King, and send money to entertain 3000 soldiers of their own for three months, and command the force here to aid them for that time, they will bring all Scotland in effect to obey their authority and yield in sense to England without the Queen's charges. The time passes away, and her Majesty must resolve what she will do. If she will restore the Scottish Queen, it was no good policy for me to show countenance on the other side. If she will maintain the other side and command me to join with them, I will make all men within thirty miles of the Border obey that authority or I will not leave a stone house for any of them to sleep in. And if she command me to pass further, I will deliver the Castle of Edinburgh or any others

The Lady at Tutbury meanwhile was making Europe ring with her cries. It was not for herself that she now pleaded, but for her country, which the ancient enemy was invading and laying waste. She besieged Charles IX. and Catherine de Medici with entreaties to rouse themselves out of their sleep, and hurry to the rescue of their old allies. To the Spanish ambassador she wrote, that if Philip and Alva sat still her cause would be ruined for ever, and with it the Holy Catholic faith.[1] Driving the spur into the languid side of her English allies, she told Norfolk, that 'she would be soon forced to consent to deliver her son and embrace the Protestant religion to get her liberty;'[2] while to the Pope, ignorant as yet what he had done for her, she poured out an impassioned flood of pious rhetoric. She described herself as longing for the time when she could uproot heresy and restore the blessed faith of Christ. She besought him to lay his injunctions on the Catholic princes to stand her friends in the hour of trial, or else, since they seemed so remiss, she asked his gracious absolution if she made use of perfidy, if, like Naaman, she bowed her head in the House of Rimmon,

in Scotland to the hands of any whom Morton with her Majesty's consent shall appoint. But these matters have too long slept. It is time to wake; and therefore, good Mr Secretary, sound the Queen's Majesty's mind fully: and if she resolve to restore the Scottish Queen, advise her to do it in convenient sort, and suffer me not to put my finger in the fire without cause, and her to be drawn into it by such degrees as are neither honourable nor sure.'—Sussex to Cecil, April 25: *MSS. Hatfield.*

[1] La Reyna de Escocia á Don Guerau de Espes, April, 1570: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] Mary Stuart to the Duke of Norfolk, March 19 and April 18: LABANOFF, vol. iii.

plied Elizabeth [1] with loving letters and smooth speeches and cunning presents, and so tempted her, through false confidence, to unlock her cage.[2]

Unfortunately for Mary Stuart's prospects she had too many friends. France and Spain both wished her well, but could not trust each other, and neither could trust the Pope. In Scotland, 'some were desperately affected Protestants;' [3] some, like Maitland, desired to marry her to Norfolk; some to a native Scot, a Gordon or a Hamilton. The Cardinal of Lorraine destined her for the Duke of Anjou; the King of Spain and Alva saw in such a marriage the death-blow to the Spanish Empire.[4] In England some wished her out of the country, her presence there being so dangerous to the Queen; others wished to keep her there as heir-presumptive and Norfolk's wife: Protestants wished it because Norfolk was outwardly a Protestant; Catholics, because they believed Norfolk to be a Catholic at heart, and to be waiting only for the completion of the marriage to declare himself. Others, again—the Catholics proper, who had been persecuted, who had kept up the practice of their faith in foul weather and fair; the conspirators of the Northern counties, or those who shared the feelings expressed in the Lincolnshire address to

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[1] She did not call her Queen.

[2] 'Quod ego Elizabetham literis amanter scriptis, donis affabre factis aliisque symbolis humanitatis datis in amorem benevolentiamque mei illiciam.'—Message from Mary Stuart to the Pope sent though the Bishop of Ross, April 20: LABANOFF, vol. iii.

[3] George Chamberlain to the Duchess of Feria, April 5: *MSS. Spain, Rolls House.*

[4] Don Gueran to Philip, April 25: *MSS. Simancas.*

Philip—had no confidence in Norfolk, and little in the Queen of Scots. They were willing to support her claim to the succession, for they had no alternative; but they would have her a dependant upon Spain, married, if possible, to Don John of Austria, or so married, at any rate, that her husband should be a Catholic indeed who had never stained his faith by a seeming apostasy.[1] Yet they too had their misgivings and their uncertainties. The friends of England at Edinburgh were 'appalled' by the vacillation of Elizabeth. The English admirers of Spain were 'dismayed by the careless regard' with which Philip looked on upon their sufferings, and were beginning to think that they had no refuge but in God. 'The Spaniards,' said Sir Francis Englefield, 'dwelt and busied themselves so long in deliberation that the opportunity was gone before they could resolve to act.' Philip threw the responsibility upon Alva; and Alva 'would do no iota more than came expressly commanded by his Sovereign.'[2]

Elizabeth herself was still the truest friend that the Queen of Scots possessed. If the threat of turning Protestant had been fulfilled in sincerity; if the lying demonstrations of affection in which Mary Stuart asked the Pope's permission to indulge had been made in earnest; or if, with or without affection, the conspiring and intriguing had been conclusively abandoned, Elizabeth would indisputably have sent her back to Scotland,

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[1] Chamberlain to the Duchess of Feria, April 5; Sir T. Englefield to the Duchess of Feria, May 17: *MSS. Spain.*

[2] Englefield to the Duchess of Feria, May 17: *MSS. Spain.*

replaced and maintained her on the throne, and would have yielded at last, however monstrous it might have seemed, on the long-coveted point of the English succession. Without seeing the application for absolution, Elizabeth understood her prisoner too well by this time to indulge in so vain an expectation; yet, although she could not trust her at liberty, she still hoped 'that means could be found' by which, though on the throne, her hands could be tied, her teeth drawn, and her claws pared.

May. The affair on the Border led to angry words with the Court of Paris. La Mothe, at the instigation of Arundel, obtained a letter from the King threatening that if the invasion was repeated, a French army would be landed at Dumbarton or at Aberdeen. Elizabeth answered boldly, that 'to submit without resistance to the inroads of the Borderers would be to abandon the English realm to be conquered by rebellion, and to yield her crown to any that would with force invade it.' If 'with the French King's help' however 'reasonable conditions could be made by which England could be secured from the Queen of Scots' machinations and Scotland be quietly governed, she professed herself still ready to do her part to bring about a composition.'[1]

It was less easy to manage her impatient friends at Edinburgh. Cecil was still for open measures: war with the Hamiltons and the Gordons; war, if necessary,

[1] Instructions to Sir H. Norris, May 2: *MSS. France*

with France, for anything which would end a situation which he regarded as infinitely dangerous. The name of war however was intolerable to Elizabeth. She wrote to Sussex detailing her many embarrassments, and telling him that in some way he must keep the King's party together 'till she had time to make choice whether she would restore the Queen of Scots or not.' He might lay the blame on Morton; he might say 'her backwardness had been rather his fault than hers;' 'his manner of dealing had been slow and uncertain, and she had not known what to look for from him:' while, on the other hand, he might tell Maitland not to be foolish and ungrateful; encourage the Protestants with hope; soothe the others with 'quiet means and messages,' and lead them both to depend upon England.

So much for the Scots. 'But Sussex himself,' she said, 'would expect to know what she meant to do; and she was obliged to own frankly that she could not tell. It would touch her in surety to have the King's party suddenly decay. It would touch her in honour if she should by her promises procure them to stand with her, and in the end not see them maintained or provided for; and there was a danger also that if she sent them money, they might take it and not serve her purpose after all. The whole cause was thus full of doubt. Morton desired to know whether she would support him against those who maintained the Queen's authority. She could but say that she would still commission Sussex to proceed against all

who assisted the English rebels. If they happened to be the same persons who were the friends of the Queen, Sussex's business lay with acts, and not with titles; and the King's party might take as much profit of his deeds for their aid as they should do if he used more open words.'[1]

So far perhaps Elizabeth's course was not indefensible. It was involved, but it was at least economical; and as long as she was moving in the right direction, the quarter towards which she was turning her eyes mattered little. But Elizabeth was a strange woman; or rather she was a woman and a man; she was herself and Cecil; and while her acts were the joint result of her own inclinations and Cecil's counsel, she gave way among her women and her favourites to her personal humours. She spoke of the Lords at Linlithgow as the loyal subjects of their sovereign; she denounced Morton and his friends as traitors; and when Sussex tried to execute the hard part imposed upon him, her words were flung back into his teeth. She wrote to Maitland 'more gentle and loving letters than ever she did.' She persuaded him that 'he knew the bottom of her secrets;' and while by her imprudent words and doings 'she struck a chill into the heart of every Scot and Englishman who wished her well,' Maitland, the object of her attentions, felt nothing but contempt for her weakness. He said 'she was inconstant, irresolute, and fearful; and before the game was played out, he

[1] Elizabeth to Sussex, April 30: *MSS. Scotland.*

would make her sit upon her tail and 'whine' like a whipped hound.[1]

Maitland had to find to his sorrow that he had seen less deeply than he supposed; but if Elizabeth was misleading her enemies, she was misleading her friends also. She had spread such a mist about herself and her intentions, that those who knew her best could not tell what to look for at her hands. In Scotland the ferment was fast increasing. A French fleet was daily expected at Dumbarton, bringing arms and money, if not men. Morton refused to accept the palliatives which were offered him by Sussex. He insisted on communicating immediately with Elizabeth, and sent the Commendator of Dumfermline to London to demand a straightforward explanation. He declined for himself and his friends to accept the blame which she affected to throw upon him. She was herself, he said, the original cause of the whole trouble by breaking the promises which she had made to the Earl of Murray at Westminster, and by refusing afterwards to publish to the world the evidence of the Queen of Scots' guilt. She must now come forward publicly on the King's side and supply them with money and men, or they 'would not run her course' any longer.[2] Dumfermline, as he passed through Berwick, told Sussex the nature of his message. Sussex could but add to it 'that the Queen must decide quickly

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[1] Sussex to Cecil, May 12, May 17; Sussex to Elizabeth, May 17: *MSS. Scotland.*

[2] Instructions to the Commendator of Dumfermline. Sent by the Earls of Morton, Mar, and Glencairn to the Queen of England, May 1: *MSS. Scotland.*

or she would lose both parties. He could but pray God to put in her heart to choose the more honourable course.'[1]

Meanwhile the council in London had been discussing conditions with the Bishop of Ross, on which the Queen of Scots' restoration could be effected. The Bishop was still deep in conspiracies, at work incessantly with Don Guerau and the Catholic leaders; but while there were hopes of obtaining his mistress's release from Elizabeth, he had never ceased to urge her yielding humour, and spared neither oaths nor protestations to persuade her that she might make the venture with safety. Elizabeth however did not mean to trust to promises. She insisted, as before, on the ratification of the treaty of Leith; she insisted that neither French nor Spanish troops should be invited over to Scotland; she required substantial securities that the Queen of Scots should not escape from her engagements on the plea that they were extorted from her under restraint. The Prince should be brought up in England. Argyle and Fleming should accompany him and reside at the English Court as hostages. An English garrison should hold Dumbarton Castle, and Dunbar, perhaps, as well as Hume and Fastcastle; and the Queen of Scots must undertake for the surrender of the Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland.[2]

These terms, with the guarantee of France for their

[1] Sussex to Elizabeth, May 1: *MSS Scotland.*

[2] Notes in Cecil's hand, May, 1570: *MSS.* MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS, *Rolls House.*

observance, would suffice for England; but Elizabeth, in decency as well as prudence, had to insist also on other stipulations for the internal government of Scotland. The Bishop of Ross seemed to be inclined to yield to anything which might be demanded; and the negotiations had begun to make progress, when they were interrupted by the appearance of two pamphlets, which had been printed on the Continent, and had been brought over and circulated in London. They were both written by the Bishop. The first was the celebrated treatise already alluded to 'in defence of Queen Mary's honour.' The other was a genealogical statement of her claims upon the English Crown. The latter contained nothing on which a complaint could be founded. The subject was an extremely dangerous one, but the Queen of Scots' pedigree was a public fact which could not be disputed. The former was a plea of 'not guilty' to the charge that she had murdered Darnley. The Bishop had no more doubt of her complicity, as he afterwards admitted, than the rest of the world. Even in his defence he argued that, supposing the charges to be true, she was no worse than David, and David had not been deposed. But the mutilated shape in which Elizabeth had let the investigation close, enabled him to say that her conduct had been inquired into, and that she had not been found guilty, and he had added that the English nobility generally regarded her as innocent.

The two publications and their composition formed part of a scheme which had been secretly arranged with the Catholics, but unhappily the Bishop was premature.

It had been agreed that every demand which Elizabeth might make should be conceded, that the treaty might not be interrupted. The detention of the Queen of Scots would perhaps be continued for some time after its completion, but the Duke of Norfolk would probably be liberated. He too was to promise anything; to promise to think no more of the Queen of Scots; to promise not to disturb the Established religion. Promises lightly made could be lightly broken,[1] and the Duke, once out and among his own people, could do what he pleased. The pamphlets were then to have appeared, and with them, or immediately after, the Bull of Deposition. A Nuncio had come from Rome to Paris with a hat and sword for Charles, and the Pope had hoped and desired that it should be formally published in the Nuncio's presence there. But France, like Spain, had refused the necessary permission. A copy had been smuggled over to England in cipher by Ridolfi; and Ridolfi, and La Mothe, and the Bishop of Ross were watching for the moment at which to launch it.[2] The

[1] 'Los deste consejo blandian mas con el Duque de Norfolk, y me han avisado que mañana han de venir Cecil y otro del Consejo á hablarles en la Torre, y ver que seguridad podra dar á la Reyna de su fidelidad de no casarse con la Reyna de Escocia, y de no ayudar á rimover esta religion que acá tienen. *El esta advertido de ofrecerles mucho.* . . Seria possible que salga presto; en lo cual puede considerar V^a Excelencia que salido puede con gran facilidad librar la de Escocia y alterar todo el reyno. Si es bien que haga mas con el amparo del Rey n^ro Señor que de Franceses, y estando V^a Ex^a resuelto en esto general, escribire en lo particular algunas cosas que me parece se podran hacer convenientes á esta fin.'—Descifrada. Don Guerau de Espes al Duque de Alva, Mayo, 1570: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] Don Guerau to Alva, May 10. *MSS. Simancas.*

Bull once out, Spain or France was expected to strike in. The Catholics, with their misgivings about Mary Stuart dispelled by the pamphlets, were to rise simultaneously in all parts of England. Norfolk would march on Tutbury, and Elizabeth would fall in a few weeks at most.

This was the programme, and this was the meaning of the Bishop's complacency in the treaty. The 'Defence' was unfortunately inconsistent with the humility of his attitude. It was the first indication to the English Government that the plea of innocence would seriously be set forward in the Queen of Scots' behalf. He was sent for to Bacon's house and required to explain what he meant by saying that the nobility disbelieved her guilt. He said that she had offered to defend herself in the Queen of England's presence: the Queen of England had refused to hear her, and she was therefore held acquitted of the charge.

Bacon carried 'the books' to the Queen, and the yielding humour which would have allowed the scheme to ripen was instantly hardened. Arundel, to counteract the effect, brought forward La Mothe, and the Queen was told that France could not and would not allow Mary Stuart to be kept in England. Elizabeth fired up in her proudest style.

'She was astonished,' she said, 'that the King of France should think so lightly of the Queen of Scots' enormities. Her friends had given shelter to the English rebels, and with her aid and connivance they had levied war against her with fire and sword. No Sove-

reign in Europe would sit down under such a provocation, and she would count herself unworthy of realm, crown, and name of Queen if she endured it.'

La Mothe replied that the King of France could not desert his sister-in-law; Elizabeth might name her own conditions, and his master would undertake that they should be observed; but if she continued to palter, he would be forced, however unwillingly, to interfere, and would hold himself acquitted before God and the world for any consequences which might follow.

'It was easy to speak of conditions,' the Queen answered, 'but she must have better security than words for their fulfilment. The Bishop of Ross had said that the abdication of Lochleven went for nothing. Francis I. had disowned the engagements with which he had bound himself in Spain; and even Maitland had been heard to say that promises given under restraint were nothing.[1] The Earl of Westmoreland, notwithstanding the harrying of the Borders, was still the guest of the Hamiltons.'

Bacon caught the opportunity, while the indignation at the Bishop's book was fresh, to urge her to strike another blow in Scotland, and show France that she was not to be frightened by La Mothe's threats. Lennox had gone down to Berwick, and couriers followed him with orders to Sussex again to set his troops in motion.

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[1] The words which Maitland was said to have used were—'Quæ in vinculis aguntur rata non habebo et frangenti fidem, fides frangatur eidem.' — Dépêches de La Mothe Fénelon, May 8, 1570. Compare *MSS.* MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS, May, 1570, *Rolls House.*

Sussex himself had caught a cold by sleeping in the air at Hawick; the cold had been followed by fever, and he could not leave his bed. But Sir William Drury, the marshal of the army, would be as useful in the field as himself. The Borders had suffered sufficiently; the Hamiltons were the centre of the anti-English Confederacy, and no heavier blow could be dealt to Mary Stuart, no material support short of the recognition of the King could be given more effectively to Morton, than a direct attack on Chatelherault himself.

On the 10th of May the army was again in Scottish territory on its mission of destruction, with the Earl of Lennox in Drury's company as the representative of James, and Morton, taking courage at last, gave them a formal and friendly reception at Edinburgh. The news of their coming flew swiftly to Chatelherault, and the Duke and his sons, unable to defend themselves at home, made a dash on Glasgow Castle, surprised the gates, and forced their way into the inner court; but they were repulsed with loss and retired with Westmoreland into the Highlands, while Drury, Morton, and Lennox advanced leisurely upon Hamilton. They carried guns with them, and after a few shots the garrison left by the Duke capitulated. The plunder was given to the soldiers. The castle itself, the town, 'half a score of villages,' and all the houses of the Hamilton family in the neighbourhood, were burnt and blown up. Dumbarton ought to have followed, for Dumbarton was an open port through which the French at any time could have access into Scotland. But Drury was tied by his

orders and could not meddle with it. While his troops halted at Glasgow, he went down with a party of horse to survey the fortress for future contingencies. He was shot at from the ditches, but no harm was done, and after taking the necessary notes he rejoined his men. From Glasgow he went to Linlithgow, where a 'palace' belonging to Chatelherault shared the fate of Hamilton. The house from which the Regent had been shot was destroyed, with every building or homestead belonging to any of the Hamiltons' name or lineage; and with this emphatic act of justice the English at the end of the month returned to Edinburgh.

Meanwhile a remarkable event had taken place in London. Desperate at this second invasion and the failure of La Mothe's threats, the Bishop of Ross had played the card which he had reserved in his hand. On the morning of the 15th of May the Bull declaring Elizabeth deposed and her subjects absolved from their allegiance was found nailed against the Bishop of London's door, and whatever the Catholic Powers might do or not do, the Catholic Church had formally declared war. The experiment had been tried before against Henry VIII. and had effected nothing. The superstitious terrors once attaching to the Vatican thunders had long disappeared. But Elizabeth was not Henry, and the England and the Europe of 1570 were not the England and the Europe of 1539. In some respects the advantage was with the Queen. The Catholic Church had no longer the prestige of ancient sovereignty, for the first time disturbed and broken. It no longer

counted among its friends men of noble intelligence like Sir Thomas More. It was disgraced by the cruelties which had attended its restoration under Mary, and its strength lay now among the meaner elements of secret conspiracy and disaffection. On the other hand, as the doctrinal tendencies of the Reformation had developed themselves, the division line of the two creeds had become more strongly marked. The instinctive dislike of English gentlemen for revolutionary changes, the uncertainty of the succession, the sense of insecurity from the political isolation of the country, had created a vague but general discontent among the masses of the population. The old-fashioned piety was superseded by a less respectable but more dangerous fanaticism; a fanaticism which no longer showed itself in open and organized political opposition, but was not afraid of treason, rebellion, or murder, which fraternized with foreign invaders, and was ready to sacrifice the interests of England to the interests of the Church.

On the Continent too the Council of Trent had closed the prospect of ecclesiastical reconciliation. The Catholics, wherever they could have their way, showed a desperate and uncompromising determination to destroy the Reformers with fire and sword; and although France and Spain were still political antagonists and neutralized each other's influence by their mutual jealousies, it must have seemed but too likely, to the anxious minds of English statesmen, that the Pope would find means at last to put an end to differences which so far had been their only protection.

When the excommunication appeared, Elizabeth was assured that it had been issued with the sanction of one or both of the Great Powers. That the Pope would have taken so considerable a step without consulting them appeared extremely improbable; and taken in connection with La Mothe's language, it seemed to tell her that her time at last was come. The Channel fleet was instantly reinforced: Lord Clinton took the command in person, with orders to sink at once and without question any French transports that he might find carrying troops to Scotland. The country could on the whole be relied on if attacked only by France; but the questions of internal policy, and of the Queen of Scots especially, became more deeply complicated. The uncertainties revived. The advocates of the Queen of Scots' restoration were able to insist upon their arguments with increased plausibility, and a great meeting of the privy council was called at their instance to consider the situation.

From the moment that Lennox had been sent to Berwick, Arundel had never ceased to remonstrate. Sharp words had been exchanged between him and Cecil in the Queen's presence. Arundel had been speaking as usual in favour of the Bishop of Ross and the treaty, when Cecil burst out, that the Queen had no friends but the Protestants, and if she yielded she would lose them all.

Elizabeth hated the naked truth. She said that Cecil's passion made him blind: she felt herself entangled in a net which threatened to strangle her. She

declared that she would do what the French King desired, and shake herself clear, let Cecil and 'his brothers in Christ' say what they pleased.[1]

Bacon, who was as anxious as Cecil to prevent the Scotch question from being rediscussed till Drury had finished his work, attempted to leave London to prevent the council from meeting; but Arundel caught him before he could escape, and told him that the Queen required his presence and advice. Bacon, whose temper was hasty, answered shortly, that it was of no use to advise the Queen; she changed her mind so often that counsel was but wasted on her. She would not listen to him, and as it seemed that she was bent upon her destruction, she must go her own way.

If Bacon was absent the discussion might be postponed, and Mary Stuart's friends in Scotland would be destroyed in the mean time. Arundel persisted that the Lord Keeper must return with him. The realm was in danger, he said, and no good subject at such a time could desert his sovereign.

Bacon sullenly complied. The privy council assembled, and the public policy of England was discussed in Elizabeth's presence. Bedford was ill; Clinton was with the fleet; of the rest every one, with the exception

[1] 'Quoiqu'il y ait Maistre Secretaire, dict elle, je veulx sortir hors de ceste affaire, et entendre à ce que le Roy me mande, et ne m'en arrester plus à vous aultres frères en Christ.' The authority for the scene was Leicester, who was present, and reported it to La Mothe. Leicester, who had more faces than Proteus, is in general not much to be depended on. La Mothe however believed that he was speaking the truth, and the phrase 'Brothers in Christ' is highly characteristic of Elizabeth.—Instructions au Sieur de Vassal: *Dépêches*, vol. iii. p 181.

of Cecil and the Lord Keeper, recommended the recall of Drury, the immediate resumption of the negotiations, and the release of the Queen of Scots at the earliest possible moment: some, like Arundel, were deliberately treacherous, some were frightened, some sincerely believed that the course which they advised would be the best both for their mistress and for England. All agreed however in one conclusion, and Leicester, as if taking upon himself to speak for the Queen, said that violent measures were found too dangerous to be ventured further; her Majesty intended to take the opinion of the more moderate of her councillors, to come to an understanding with France, and replace the Queen of Scots on her throne.

May 22. It was no time for euphuisms or delicate phrases. The Lord Keeper had been forced to attend. The Queen desired his opinion, and she should have it. 'Her Majesty,' he said, 'was deceived and trifled with. The men whose advice she was preparing to follow were the secret servants of the Queen of Scots. The French ambassador threatened war; but he spoke for the Cardinal of Lorraine, and not for the King. The King his master had work enough on hand at home, and would not meddle with England.

'After what you have done and are doing in Scotland,' he continued, 'you cannot now turn back: courage alone is safety, courage and persistence. Go on as you have begun, and there will be soon no Queen's party, no French party, no Catholic party to trouble that country more. English influence will be supreme there,

and religion, the Protestant religion, will be established beyond reach of harm from end to end of Britain. No advice but this will be given to our Sovereign by any loyal Englishman. This course alone befits the greatness of her crown; and in this quarrel I will live or die. It is not for the Majesty of England to be frightened by the threats of an ambassador. How think you her father, King Henry, would have dealt with such miserable counsels? You, my Lord,' he went on, turning to Leicester, 'you pretend to be loyal to your mistress, and you are in league with the worst of her enemies. If France lands a force in England to try to take the Queen of Scots from us, with her Majesty's permission, I would strike her head from her shoulders with my own hands.'

'In what I said,' replied Leicester, 'I spoke according to my honour and conscience. I will maintain my opinion, if necessary, with my life, against all who impugn it. It is my duty as a councillor to declare what I truly think. Her Majesty may do as she will, I hold to my own convictions, and I speak for others besides myself.'

Elizabeth looked angrily from one speaker to the other. Neither the favourite nor the Lord Keeper had pleased her. But the Lord Keeper had offended her most: 'his counsels,' she said, 'were like himself, rash and dangerous;' she would not have her cousin's life touched for a second realm; she would rather lose her own. She forbade him at his peril ever more to speak such words to her.

In the pause which followed, Arundel struck in with affected moderation.

'They were met,' he said, 'to consider certain dangers which threatened the realm, and neither from anger nor passion, nor from any love or hatred which they might feel for the Queen of Scots, should they mislead their mistress at such a crisis; least of all should they quarrel among themselves, for the situation demanded all the prudence and discretion which they possessed. He thought for himself that to support by force the party in Scotland, who, for whatever cause, were in arms against their Sovereign, was neither wise, just, nor advantageous. The expense would be enormous, the difficulties far more considerable than those who recommended that course appeared to imagine. It would offend a powerful party in England whom it was unsafe to irritate, and would lead in the end to a war with the Continental Powers, which England was in no condition to sustain. The French ambassador could not have spoken so peremptorily without commission, and to withdraw from any enterprise to preserve the peace of the world was neither dishonourable nor dangerous. Henry VIII. might possibly have persevered, but under Henry VIII. England was loyal and united, and even Henry himself did not venture upon a war with France without the Emperor for an ally. Now the whole situation was altered. The Catholic King was estranged. The English people were discontented and divided. Let her Majesty secure peace at home, let her deserve the friendship and confidence of other princes, and she would do what

was right and just in the sight of God and man.'[1]

But for the revelations in the despatches of Don Guerau, but for the evidence that he had been for years conspiring for a religious revolution and Elizabeth's overthrow, Lord Arundel might have been credited with a mistaken but still honest anxiety to extricate his mistress from her embarrassments. Elizabeth herself construed his words favourably. When the next morning Leicester pressed her to give an audience to the Bishop of Ross, she answered sharply that the Queen of Scots seemed very near his heart, but she sent an order to Scotland for the recall of the army, which encountered Drury on his return to Edinburgh. Morton would gladly have detained him, at least till Grange could be compelled or persuaded to surrender the castle; but the Queen's commands were peremptory; he made the necessary excuses and fell back at once to Berwick.

It might have been thought, as Cecil hoped and Bacon said, that Elizabeth, after inflicting punishment so tremendous on Mary Stuart's friends, would not have deceived herself with the expectation that she could recover their confidence or induce them any more to look upon her as a friend. Had her fluctuations been assumed to cover a purpose which in her heart she had definitely formed; had she been hypocritical and deceitful, and not weak and uncertain, such no doubt would have been the effect. She would have seen that

[1] This singular discussion is described by La Mothe.—*Dépêches*, vol. iii. p. 181. It was perhaps protracted through several sessions, and did not all take place on the same day

she had gone too far to retreat, she would have avowed her real purpose and gone through with it. But Elizabeth was very different from all this. The principles which divided her council divided herself from herself. She had no sooner committed herself to one course of action than the merits of another became doubly obvious to her, while it gratified her sense of power to strike and to smile, to be alternately the lightning and the sunshine.

She perhaps flattered herself that the Scots, after suffering from the invasion, would come to her feet like children beaten into submission; a letter from Maitland to Sussex indicated that they were as yet far from any such condition.

'You tell me,' Maitland wrote, 'that her Majesty's forces are revoked. I am glad thereof more than I was at their coming, and it is not amiss for their ease to have a breathing time and some rest between one exploit and another. This is the third journey they have made in Scotland since your Lordship came to the Borders, and have been so occupied in every one of them, that it might well be said, if the amity and good intelligence between the realms would permit that phrase of language, to term the Englishmen as our forefathers were wont to do—they have reasonably well acquit themselves of the duty of old enemies, and have burnt and spoiled as much ground within Scotland as any army of England did in one year, these hundred years by-past, which may suffice for a two months' work, although you do no more. The rude people in

June.

Scotland will sometimes speak rashly after their fashion, but I am content to follow the phrase of your language as better acquainted with the same, and say that you have not been idle in the pursuit of her Majesty's rebels.'[1]

The order of the day however was once more to be conciliation. The Bishop of Ross, after a short delay, was admitted to an audience. He swore that he had known nothing of the rebellion, and although Elizabeth possessed the clearest evidence to the contrary, she affected to believe him. He was sent down to Chatsworth, to which his mistress had been removed, to talk over the intended arrangements, and the Queen, for the further guidance of Lord Sussex, told him that 'although in all worldly things there were some uncertainties,' she had made up her mind to the course which promised least disadvantage. The Queen of Scots would have been long since restored 'but for such impediments as from time to time had been ministered by herself.' There was now a better prospect of a good conclusion. Both parties in Scotland must lay down their arms. She would take care of the interests of the Lords who had supported the King, and Sussex must learn from them what conditions they would consider satisfactory. In fact they had better send commissioners with full powers to London. Discretion should be used in opening the matter to them; 'discomfort' might otherwise make them desperate.

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[1] Maitland to Sussex, June 2: *MSS. Scotland.*

As to the troops at Berwick, the Exchequer would no longer bear the expense of their maintenance. To disband them publicly might be too patent a confession of weakness, and Sussex was ordered therefore to get rid of them 'in some secret and indirect sort.'[1]

The conspirators in London meanwhile were in high spirits at their victory over Cecil and Bacon, and in full assurance of success. The Queen of Scots wrote letters of passionate gratitude to Elizabeth, promising faithfully to be all that she could wish.[2] The Bishop of Ross, before going to her, talked over the situation with Don Guerau. Don Guerau recommended that to mislead Elizabeth she should still seem to comply with every demand which might be made upon her, while the Catholics should hold themselves ready for a universal insurrection the instant that she was free. La Mothe had served the Bishop's turn upon the council; it seems that he had more trust in Spain for assistance in the field. The fear was that France might get the start and secure Mary Stuart for Anjou.[3] The Papal Nuncio at Paris was strongly in favour of the match, and the

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[1] Elizabeth to Sussex, May 31: *MSS. Scotland.*

[2] Letters of Mary Stuart, June and July, 1570: LABANOFF, vol. iii.

[3] 'It is here doubted that the Queen of Scots being released shall marry M. de Anjou, and thereby possess him of the present estate of Scotland and of the remainder of the Crown of England. It is said that the late messenger from the Pope which brought the sword and cap for Monsieur, doth most earnestly solicit this cause. The Cardinal of Lorraine said at the council board, that the peace once made here, it should be for the reputation of this Crown to declare an open war against England.'—Norris to Cecil, June 15; Norris to Elizabeth, June 20: *MSS. France.*

Pope was ready to grant the necessary dispensation.[1] It was thought that a possibility so much dreaded would rouse Alva from his inaction. Philip's new Queen[2] was on her way through the Netherlands to Madrid. Her voyage and the insecurity of the seas had required the assembly of a powerful escort, and the fleet which was floating on the Scheldt could be directed to a second purpose if an opportunity presented itself for a sudden landing at the mouth of the Thames. If by any means the release of the Queen of Scots could be effected, fifteen or twenty thousand men could be thrown across, before Elizabeth could have notice of her danger. The Catholics would immediately rise, Mary Stuart would be proclaimed, France paralyzed, the Queen taken prisoner, and Cecil and his party destroyed. The country would be conquered without a struggle, the pirate fleets annihilated, and, among other happy issues, the revolution that overthrew Elizabeth would end the rebellion in the Low Countries.[3] By disbanding her army she was preparing her neck for the stroke.

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[1] The relationship between Mary Stuart and the Duc d'Anjou was precisely the same as that between Henry VIII. and his brother's widow.

[2] Anne of Austria, daughter of Maximilian.

[3] 'En el mismo tiempo con quinze ó viente mill infantes y la caballeria que pareciese conveniente entrar por esta Isla, haciendo levantar todos los Catolicos, los quales, si se aseguran de la persona de la Reyna, tendrian la mayor parte de la empresa acabada, y aun asegurarse luego de Cecil y Leicester y Bedford seria muy conveniente, y no menos el tomar la armada en Rochester. Todo lo qual es harto facil, y no falta sino persona principal para executar, y en todo pretender el nombre de la Reyna de Escocia por hallar menos contradiction en el reyno, y no dar sospecha á los vezinos. Yo tengo por cierto que sino es por esta via jamas el reyno de Inglaterra siendo Protestante dexara de inquietar las cosas de Flandes.

Thus it was agreed between the Bishop and Don Guerau that no concessions however extravagant should be refused. When the Queen of Scots' foot was on her own soil they would crumble to pieces of themselves.

After parting from the ambassador, the Bishop ventured to the lodgings of the young Lord Southampton, one of the intended leaders of the insurrection, for with him too there was much to arrange and explain. It happened that Southampton's house was one of those on which Cecil was keeping a watch. This nobleman had been notoriously favourable to the enterprise of the Northern Earls, and in fact he had been on the edge of declaring for them. After his defeat in the council, Cecil had redoubled his private vigilance, and the Bishop of Ross was seen stealing at midnight from the door. He had started by daybreak for Chatsworth; the information came too late for his detention; but the Queen's suspicions were violently reawakened, if indeed they had ever really slept. The preparations in the Scheldt had alarmed her also; and almost at the same moment came the unwelcome news that Lord Morley, Lord Derby's son-in-law, whose loyalty had been hitherto unquestioned, had withdrawn without leave from England, and had gone to Brussels to the Duke of Alva. A letter which he wrote to the Queen when he was beyond her reach did not tend to reassure her.

A todo ello viene muy á proposito la pasada de la Mag^{d} de la Reyna N^{ra} Señora.'—Descifrada de G. D'Espes á su Mag^{d}. Londres, 12 de Junio, 1570: *MSS. Simancas.*

Lord Morley accused Cecil and Bacon of ruining the country, persecuting the nobility, and introducing into England the wildest and worst of the revolutionary passions of the Continent. He said that the ancient order, the honourable traditions of the realm, were set at nought by them. They had maintained 'that the opinions of the Peers were of no importance,' 'that her Highness and the Commons might make laws without the Nobles.' 'How a prince could stand without a body of nobility, he recommended her Highness to consider;' and he trusted that a time would come when 'she would discover their practices and weigh them and others as they had deserved.'[1]

It was not the way to work upon Elizabeth. Southampton was at once arrested, and also Sir Thomas Cornwallis, Queen Mary's old minister. Elizabeth sent for La Mothe, and began moodily to talk to him of the Bull, and of the name by which the Pope had described her as 'the servant of iniquity.' The world looked so wild, she said, that she thought the last day must be near. With one of her odd unearthly laughs she told him of Morley's flight, and how when he landed at Dunkirk he had described himself as one of the greatest Lords in England. She ran over the pretty doings of the Queen of Scots. She said she had promised the French King to send her back, and if she was let alone she meant to do it, but if France sent one man to Scotland she would hold herself acquitted of

[1] Lord Morley to Elizabeth from Bruges, June 8: *MSS. Domestic.*

her engagement; she would send her army back to Edinburgh; Mary Stuart should remain prisoner for her life, and if war came it must come.[1]

Fresh orders went down to Sussex. He had scarcely digested the letter of the 31st of May when another followed it to say that new practices had been discovered, and that the Queen intended to move with greater caution. The King's Lords, who had been but just informed that they were to prepare to receive back Mary Stuart, 'were now to be told that in no wise they should shrink or yield; and whatever the Queen of Scots or her friends might say to the contrary, they might assure themselves of the support of England.'[2]

Rarely have any set of public men been in a more deplorable situation than these unlucky Lords. Chatelherault had proclaimed the Queen. Elizabeth had withdrawn the indirect sanction which she had given to the election of Lennox in Murray's place, and they had neither Regent nor recognized authority among them. She had fed them with doses of alternate warmth and coldness, and her invasions and burnings had done them more harm than good, for she had tempted them to join in the demolition of Hamilton Castle, and then by her desertion had exposed them to be destroyed by their adversaries. The Abbot of Dumfermline had found her impatient for the treaty, and had come back with an intimation that they must prepare for the return of the Queen. Lennox, Angus,

[1] Dépêches, June 16, June 19, June 21, vol. iii.

[2] The Queen to Sussex, June 6: *MSS. Scotland.*

Glencairn, Mar, Morton, the Master of Graham, Lindsay, Ruthven, Borthwick, Ochiltree, all the Lords remaining on the side of the little King, had assembled at Stirling to receive the answer to their petition, and when it came in such a form 'their long silence manifested the heaviness of their hearts.'

When Sussex received the Queen's second letter he sent Randolph on to them, and Randolph was able in some degree to reassure them; but they told him distinctly that if they were to hold together they must and would appoint a Regent. They sent again to Elizabeth to say that 'it was impossible for them to continue as they were;' and Sussex, who trusted that his mistress had recovered her senses, added of himself that the idea of sending back the Queen had better be abandoned once and for ever. 'If her Majesty would be pleased to command him, he would himself take the castles of Edinburgh and Dumbarton in twenty days, and either bring all Scotland to the King's obedience in like time after, or leave the Queen's friends not a castle standing.'[1]

Elizabeth however was like a jaded horse, stung by the lash into momentary action, but lapsing speedily into lagging and weary motion. She brooded over the Pope's excommunication. She harassed herself with the belief that she was to be the object of a European crusade. The Duke of Norfolk plied her from the Tower with letters which were piteously submissive.

[1] Sussex to Cecil, June 19: *MSS. Scotland.*

His physician wrote that his health was breaking under his confinement, and that if he remained in the Tower he would die.[1] The Bishop of Ross reported from Chatsworth that his mistress was so anxious to please the Queen that Cecil might dictate his conditions. Title, religion, alliances—she would make no difficulties about any of them. 'After so many storms her wish was to live in quietness;' and for his own part, the Bishop would count himself most happy if he could unite their Majesties in heart, mind, and bonds indissoluble.[2]

Elizabeth was on her guard against the Bishop, and the smooth words would have produced no effect had the Catholics retained their ascendency in France. But just at this time an opportune victory of the Huguenots in Poitou recovered to them the strength and prestige which they had lost at Moncoutour, changed the policy of the French Court, and brought about another short-lived reconciliation between the Queen-mother and the leaders of the Protestant League. Disinclined to encounter further the chances of a war which no battles seemed to end, the Court determined to give way. The Duke of Guise, who had aspired to the hand of the Princess Margaret, was driven in disgrace from the Court. The war spirit was suddenly extinguished, and with it the

July.

[1] Norfolk to the Queen, June 18; Report of the Duke of Norfolk's health, June —; Norfolk to Cecil, July 4: *MSS. Domestic.*

[2] The Bishop of Ross to Cecil, June 26: *Cotton. MSS.* Calig. C. ii. 15. Cf. *MSS.* Mary Queen of Scots, June 26, June 29, *Rolls House.*

disposition to quarrel with England in the interests of the Catholic religion. In vain the despairing Nuncio preached upon the impiety of making peace with heretics. In vain Don Francis de Alava promised help from Spain, and the clergy of Paris offered to pay the expenses of the army for eight months if the King would persevere. He said he would have no more war with his subjects, and Protestants and Catholics should cut each others' throats no longer.[1]

The change relieved Elizabeth from the fears of a crusade, and while it increased the chances of a quarrel between France and Spain, it enabled her to hope that between France and herself there might now be a cordial alliance. She would thus be secure against invasion, and her own subjects would lose the temptation to mutiny. The danger from the release of the Queen of Scots would be diminished or reduced to nothing, if the direction of French policy was in the hands of the enemies of the Guises; and while Charles and Catherine still continued to intercede for her, the guarantees which they were ready to give that she should not abuse her freedom could now be depended upon.

Thus again the wind swung round. Cornwallis and Southampton were set at liberty. A tripartite treaty was proposed between France, England, and Scotland, a condition of which was to be the Queen of Scots' restoration; and Elizabeth said that she would be satisfied with sufficient securities for her own title, the sur-

[1] Norris to Elizabeth, July 23: *MSS. France.*

render of the fugitive Earls, and an undertaking on the part of Mary Stuart that she would not interfere with the religion established in Scotland. She should not be pressed to conform herself to a religion which she did not believe.[1]

A third time the unhappy Sussex was disturbed with a change of orders. If the Lords at Stirling chose to elect a Regent, Elizabeth said that she would not interfere with them. She could not act in the matter herself, but if they were determined and desired her opinion, the Earl of Lennox she still thought was the fittest person for the place. But Regent or no Regent, the Queen of Scots professed a willingness to be guided entirely by her advice, and she could not in honour refuse to hear what her friends or herself would propose. The Queen of Scots was about to send Lord Livingston to treat with them, and Elizabeth trusted that they would not refuse to receive him or weaken their cause by needless alarm or panic.[2]

So many alterations, trying as they were to those immediately about the Court, were maddening to the unfortunate officers at remote stations on the Borders or abroad, on whom was thrown the responsibility of action. It might well seem that Maitland after all best understood the Queen of England's character. At this last revolution a shout of triumph rose through Mary Stuart's party, and a cry as despairing from the Lords. Buccleuch and Fernihurst, unable to restrain their de-

[1] Dépêches, July 5.

[2] Elizabeth to Sussex, June 30, July 2: *MSS. Scotland.*

light, dashed into Northumberland, and carried off 'a great booty of cattle,' which they divided in triumph among the ruins of Jedburgh; and Sussex, in reporting the affair, told his mistress with some irony, that it was rather late, after all that she had made him do, to be talking of the restoration.[1] Chatelherault sent to France and Spain to say that now 'with small support he would requite the Queen of England for her deceitful doings;'[2] while Randolph from the other side had to write 'that the poor King would stand up naked for all that would be left to him. The Lords would seek their own at the Scotch Queen's hands. They had no confidence in the Queen of England, that had so often changed her course, and, though sore against their wills, they would now live with murderers and traitors to obey her whom neither by law, duty, nor conscience they held themselves bound to obey.'[3]

They did indeed at last make Lennox Regent, but this in itself, unless followed up by other measures, would do little to hold the party together. Each of the Lords prepared to make his own terms for himself, and whatever happened, Elizabeth in Randolph's opinion would not have 'a friend left in Scotland to serve her turn.'[4]

The ministers of the Kirk and their congregations alone showed heart or courage. The General Assembly, forsaken as they were, met at Edinburgh, and passed

[1] Sussex to Elizabeth, July 8: *MSS. Border.*

[2] Commission from the Duke of Chatelherault, July —, 1570: *MSS. Scotland.*

[3] Randolph to Hunsdon and Sussex, July 5: *MSS.* Ibid.

[4] Randolph to Sussex, July 8: Ibid.

a resolution, that whatever England might say, Mary Stuart should be no Queen of theirs. Every pulpit in Scotland should ring with her enormities. If the Lords and gentlemen interfered they should be excommunicate and held as rotten members unworthy of the society of Christ's body.[1]

For the dissatisfaction in Scotland however Elizabeth cared but little while she felt secure of France; and even Philip, it now seemed, unless the chance offered itself to revolutionize England, might defy the Pope and his excommunication, and try to bribe over his sister-in-law to himself from her treaty with Charles and Catherine.

Toward Spain the aggressions of the privateers had rather increased than diminished. Elizabeth was well aware that for the safety of the realm against invasion she must chiefly depend upon the force which she could keep in the Channel, and that it was safer as well as cheaper to encourage the voluntary action of her subjects than to rely entirely upon her own fleet. In dealing with French ships there had been more or less forbearance; when the tone of the French Government was friendly an intimation was sent to the ports to let them pass, but on the whole little difference had been made. The sea-going population regarded Papists generally as their natural enemies and their legitimate prey. Forty or fifty sail—corsairs or privateers, according to the point of view from which they were re-

[1] Determination of the General Assembly, July 7: *MSS. Scotland.*

garded—held the coast from Dover to Penzance. The crews were English, French, or Flemish, united by a common creed and a common pursuit. They shifted their flags as suited their convenience, now sailing under a commission from the Prince of Orange, now from the Queen of Navarre. They had friends and stores in every English harbour, and since the publication of the Bull their trade had gone on more furiously than ever. Every day prizes were brought in to Plymouth, Dover, or Southampton, the cargoes were sold the ships armed and refitted.

The prisoners taken had met with the same mercy which Protestants in the Netherlands experienced from Alva, or the landless wretches in Yorkshire and Durham after the rebellion. At the end of July three richly laden traders on their way from Flanders to Spain were captured outside the Goodwins. They had made a fight for it, and the crews one and all were flung into the sea.[1]

With peace in France the whole of these wild

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[1] 'De presente se sustituen contener en este estrecho mas de cuarenta velas de armada como he avisado, en nombre del de Orangos, y de la Duquesa de Vendosme, y de Chastillon, que estan por todos estos puertos y entran y salen a su voluntad; y van en cada nao muchos Ingleses, de manera que estos son amigos de los piratas publicos enemigos nuestros y los favorecen, acogen y regalan, robando nos cada dia quantas naos pasan por este estrecho; y lo peor es que luego las arman y engrossan con ellas la armada. Continuan en tomar presas, y de pocos dias aca han tomado tres urcas muy ricas que iban a España de Flandes, y por haberse puesto á defensa, se dice que han muerto toda la gente y traen vendiendo las mercaderias por estos puertos.' — Antonio de Guaras á Cayas, Junio 30 y Julio 23: *MSS. Simancas.* Compare La Mothe, *Dépêches*, July 25.

marauders would be diverted upon Spain. Don Guerau wrote that Hawkins was fitting out a squadron to cruise for the gold fleet; and that the Government took no pains to prevent their depredations. It is certain that Philip had not as yet deserved at Elizabeth's hands so inveterate an animosity. For political reasons he had prevented France from declaring war against her. He had shown extraordinary forbearance in enduring injuries to which a great Power like Spain could scarcely submit without dishonour. He had empowered Alva to act in concert with the English Catholics if he saw a fair opportunity; but the seizure of his treasure would have justified more immediate and decisive measures. and the discretion which he had left to Alva could have been no more than an excuse to his own subjects for his inaction, for he knew Alva to be as reluctant to move as himself. The Spanish nation was furious. The feelings of the proud and bigoted Castilians found expression in the intrigues of the ambassadors in England and in the successive entreaties of de Feria, the Bishop of Aquila, and now again Don Guerau for a descent from Flanders upon the English coast. But Philip lagged behind his people, and Alva knew or feared that if he struck at England France would send an army over his frontier, and the Netherlands would again be on fire.

The danger of this last contingency was increased by the prospect of a reconciliation between the Court of Paris and the Huguenots. If the Protestant leaders came back to power, the anti-Spanish policy of

Francis and Henry would revive; and in the event of a rupture with France, the Netherlands could not possibly be held unless Elizabeth was at least neutral.

Could a revolution be accomplished in England as easily as Don Guerau imagined, then indeed his difficulties would have disappeared; but Philip was less sanguine than his ambassador. With the first hint that peace in France was possible, he sent word to Elizabeth through Don Francis de Alava, that if the alliance between the Crowns of England and Spain was broken, it should be through no fault of his.[1] When the Bull of Excommunication was published he had directed Alva generally to do what he could for the Queen of Scots.[2] Elizabeth might die or be murdered, and it was necessary to be prepared for contingencies. But, as has been already seen, he expressed the most serious displeasure at the step which the Pope had taken. He still hoped, he said, that his differences with Elizabeth might be composed in any way rather than by force; and the Duke of Alva, in explaining the cause of the preparations in the Scheldt, regretted that explanation should have been necessary between countries which were naturally friends, and added that 'since the Pope had been stalled he had done nothing that had so much dis-

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[1] 'Que por mi parte no se romperá la antigua amistad y aliança que entre nosotros hay, sino que se la conservaremos con toda buena correspondencia y que ella debe hacer lo mismo.'—Philip to Alava, May 17: TEULET, vol. v.

[2] 'Escribo de nuevo al Duque de Alva que tenga mucha cuenta con la reyna de Escocia y la anime y la favorezca con palabras y otras en quanto fuese possible.'—Philip to Don Guerau, June 30: *MSS. Simancas.*

pleased the King his master as the late declaration.[1]

It must not be supposed that either the King or Alva cared at all for Elizabeth herself. Yet the Duke's private correspondence with Philip shows that both of them were sincerely desirous to avoid a collision with her.[2] They distrusted the accounts which they received from the sanguine Catholics in England. 'I am afraid of Don Guerau,' the Duke wrote frankly to Alava. 'I cannot satisfy myself that he understands those English. I am doing what I can for the Queen of Scots. My master expressly desires me to assist her; but his wish is that the two Queens should be reconciled, and that both should feel themselves under an obligation to himself. I am trying all the fords in the stream, but I can find none that I like.'[3]

With Spain in this humour and the Huguenots restored to favour in France, the political objections to the release of the Queen of Scots might be supposed to have been removed, or at least materially diminished. Yet Bacon and Cecil remained unshaken in their dislike. The winds shifted too rapidly, and the sky was still too threatening for the present calm to be relied upon. Elizabeth herself, with the instinct of prophecy, foretold that the peace in France would not last; that it would end in a year or two in some desperate attempt to exterminate the Protestants, and that war with Eng-

[1] The message was sent through Sir Henry Norris, Elizabeth's Minister at Paris. — Norris to the Queen, July 9: *MSS. France.*

[2] Correspondance de Philippe II. March and August, 1570, tom. ii.

[3] The Duke of Alva to Don Francis de Alava, July 29: TEULET, vol. v.

land would follow.[1] Bacon, in a confidential letter to Cecil, said that 'the proposed compromise would not make Spain and France the more assured, but the Queen's Highness the less to be feared.' 'Better far it would have been,' he thought, 'to have gone through with the matter.' 'Scotland would by that time have been at her devotion, and Scotland and England united might encounter the world in arms.' 'The effect of her present measures would only be to increase the danger, increase the expense, drive the Queen to be burdensome to her subjects, which again would breed new perils; but his advice had not been allowed, and they must now wait for what would follow.'[2] Cecil himself, if Don Guerau's secretary is to be trusted, had sent money to the Continent in preparation for exile. He intended to hold on to the last; but he believed that the end might come at any time; and after an interview with the Queen, he desired Lady Cecil to pack her jewels and be ready to fly at a moment's notice.[3]

[1] 'Encore elle pense que quant Dieu vous aura donné la paix, l'on ne cessera, avant deux ans, de vous pousser à la guerre pour oster cette religion, et mesmes à vous animer contre ce royaulme comme contre ung coing de la terre qui sert de retrette aulx Protestans.' — La Mothe au Roy, Juillet 14: *Dépêches*, vol. iii.

[2] Bacon to Cecil, August 13, abridged: *Domestic MSS.*

[3] 'Esta es cosa cierta que el segretario Cecil dixó á su muger con grandes ansias, ha dos semanas, viniendo de la Reyna á su aposento: 'Muger, si Dios no nos ayuda, somos presos y perdidos. Por tanto recoged vuestras joyas y todo el dinero que podeis, paraque me sigais quando tal tiempo viniere, como parece que la mala fortuna nos amenaza.' Y aunque parece que no seria esto assi, es cierto que esto pasó, porque esperáran él y otros consejeros hasta lo ultimo. Al extremo piensan desampararlo todo y pasarse á Italia, Vienne, ó otras partes.'—Antonio de Guaras á Cayas, August 1.

The Duke of Norfolk was released from the Tower the first week in August, and was allowed to reside at Howard House, under the partial supervision of Sir Henry Neville. If Arundel and Arundel's friends retained their hold upon the Queen, the next step was likely to be Cecil's arrest or banishment.

He was not gone yet however; and while he remained the administrative power was still in his hands, and he was not afraid to use it. The person who had nailed the Bull against the Bishop of London's door had escaped for some weeks undiscovered. He had been taken at last however, and was found to be a young gentleman of good family named Felton. Catholicism when it assumed the shape of treason could yet be dealt with. Felton confessed under the rack, but claimed his act wholly for his own. He was brought to trial, and said at the bar that 25 peers, 600 gentlemen, and 30,000 commons were ready to die in the Pope's quarrel. Cecil perhaps wished to provoke them to the experiment. Their champion was put to death on the scene of his exploit, with the protracted tortures which the executioner, if directed, could inflict.[1]

A more audacious proceeding followed. Since there now appeared to be no doubt of Elizabeth's intention to proceed with the Queen of Scots' treaty, the Earl of Westmoreland, the Countess of Northumberland, the Nortons, and Leonard Dacres had withdrawn from Scotland. So long as they re- August.

[1] 'Le hiciéron quartos vivo con grandissima crueldad.'—De Guaras à Cayas, Agosto 9: *MSS. Simancas.*

mained either nothing could be done, or their extradition would be made a condition of the agreement. They had therefore crossed over to the Netherlands, intending to return when the Queen of Scots was released and the stir in England had recommenced. Great numbers of English refugees were already collected under Alva's protection. Priests, lawyers, knights, peers, noble ladies, representatives of all sorts and ranks united in an enmity to their Sovereign, and in a passionate hope of speedily assisting in her overthrow. They were living on pensions from Philip, entertained much as Chatillon, Montgomery, the Vidame of Chartres, and other Huguenots had been entertained in England; and there they had continued some of them from the time of Elizabeth's accession, scheming, conspiring, intriguing, gliding backwards and forwards over the Channel in disguise, and circulating seditious pamphlets in the English counties.

Among these persons was Doctor Story, a man who had been notorious for his cruelties during the Marian persecutions, and for the insolence with which he had defended them in Elizabeth's first Parliament. He had been imprisoned for refusing the Oath of Allegiance, but he had escaped abroad and had since been especially active in plotting treason. On this person Cecil had long had his eye. Spies pretending to be Catholics had been watching him and probing his secrets. Besides the ordinary plots for invading England, it seems that he had a scheme on foot in connection with one of the Hamiltons for a feat which would have eclipsed the

murder at Linlithgow. It was nothing less than making away with the little King of Scots, in the belief that with his life would be removed the principal obstacle to his mother's marriage with some Catholic prince.[1]

Whether Cecil knew anything of this does not appear. He bribed however a refugee named Parker who was in Story's confidence. Story himself was employed by Alva to search vessels arriving from England suspected of containing heretical books. Parker enticed him by false information on board a trader lying in the river below Antwerp, where he was immediately flung into the hold, the hatches were closed down upon him, and in a few hours he was in Yarmouth.[2]

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[1] This preposterous piece of wickedness would have been incredible had it not been confessed by Story himself. The account of it was transmitted by the Spanish ambassador to Philip. The *Prestal* spoken of as another of the conspirators will be heard of hereafter. Don Guerau's words are these:—

'Dixó Story que Hamilton le refirió que aquel negocio que el Story y el Hamilton le habian dicho, que podia hacer con Ingles que entonces estaba en Irlanda, no se podia acabar sin gran copia de dinero. Y este secreto era sobre matar al Rey de Escocia; porque este Prestal habia dicho á Hamilton que con dificultad pudieran ser los Escoceses reducidos á la obediencia de la Reyna, mientras ella estuviese sin marido, y que ningun hombre principal la querria por muger mientras viviese aquel muchacho, pero si le mataba que el esperaba que el hermano del Emperador se casaria con ella.'—Sacada de las Confessiones del Doctor Story: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] Parker was treated in the same way, and sent to London as a prisoner, lest information should get abroad of his treachery, and he and others should be disabled from doing similar services. The Government was already contemplating the seizure of another of the gang. Sir H. Cobham, writing from Antwerp on the 4th of September, says:—'I am informed to a surety that Prestal is with the Countess of Northumberland. If the manner of the conveyance of Story had been kept secret in England, or yet hereafter shall be well carried, I think there is which will hazard to do the like

Finding himself in the hands of the enemy, he wrote on being landed, half in irony, to Cecil, that 'as he was old and decrepit, one iron on his sound leg would be sufficient to hold him,' and begging that he might be tolerably lodged, 'that he perished not before his time.'[1]

The 'lodging' prepared for him was his own Lollards' Tower, which had been empty since he and his had lost the power to persecute. He bore his fate with considerable stoicism,[2] but his firmness failed him in the terrible ordeal which followed. He was examined in his cell under the rack as Felton had been. The Catholics prayed that God would support him under it;[3] but he was seventy years old and feeble for his age, and his dark secrets were wrung from him by his agony. He was then tried for high treason. He said that he was a naturalized subject of Philip, but the plea was not allowed. He was sentenced as a traitor, committed to a dungeon in the Tower, and left there waiting for exe-

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enterprise by Prestal. In the mean time Story can inform you what practices Prestal hath in hand for Scotland. The rebels here provoke and stir what they may. The chief captain of those which are busy in practices is Prestal. Story was next.'—Cobham to Cecil, September 4: *MSS. Flanders.*

[1] Story to Cecil, from Yarmouth, August 15: *MSS. Domestic.*

[2] 'Story seemeth to take little thought for any matter, and is as perverse in mind concerning religion as heretofore he hath been. He plainly saith that what he did in Queen Mary's time, he did it lawfully because he was but a minister of the law; and if it was the law again he might do the like.'—Watts to Cecil, September 4: *MSS. Domestic.*

[3] 'Danle en esta dia tormento y creo lo pasara mal. Dios le ayude que todos los Catolicos ruegan por el.'—Don Guerau to Philip, December 13.

cution. If Alva and Philip endured this, the Catholics in England might well despair of help from them and Elizabeth might lay aside her fears. Here was a man living under the King of Spain's protection, in the employ of the Government, and seized and carried off as it were under Alva's eyes. Yet Alva contented himself with a mild remonstrance to the English Minister. 'The proceeding appeared strange to him,' he said; 'the Queen of England should remember that it would discontent her to have the like done in her countries; it was the King's pleasure however to bear with her in a matter which he would not have suffered at another prince's hand.'[1] The English Catholics little expected such an answer. The haughty Alva had not been celebrated for endurance of injuries. The Queen of Spain had not sailed; ninety large ships were lying armed and manned in the Scheldt; and unless Spain intended to forfeit her rank in Europe, she must move at last. Lord Seton sped across from Scotland to offer Aberdeen for a landing-place. Lord Derby sent word that he could raise ten thousand men in Lancashire. Arundel, Worcester, Montague, Southampton, Lumley, all told Don Guerau that they were ready. Norfolk was flinching; but Norfolk's absence mattered not. They waited only but for a sign from Alva, and they pledged their lives that there should be no second failure. Twice the Bishop of Ross came with this message to the ambassador. The ambassador could but send their words

[1] Cobham to Cecil, August 31: *MSS. Flanders.*

through the Duke to his master, adding however to the letter a few words of his own to rouse Alva before it should be too late.[1] 'Now,' he said, 'is the moment for your Excellency's presence in England. Never could you come more opportunely. You will see what I have written to his Majesty; what Lord Derby and the rest say is all true.'

September. The Catholic Lords sent a messenger of their own to Philip. They had trusted to him, they said, and hoped, till they were almost in despair. The Queen's Ministers were now distracted, quarrelling among themselves and uncertain what to do. No such opportunity had occurred before; and if it was allowed to pass, such another might never return. It mattered not whether a force was landed in Scotland or landed in England, the effect would be the same. They offered harbours, supplies—all that an army could want; and if Philip desired it, the Prince of Scotland should be placed in his hands as their security.[2]

The excitement among the Catholics could not wholly be concealed. Huntingdon had his eye on Lord Derby, and warned Cecil that mischief was in the wind;[3] and whatever might be Elizabeth's pleasure, Cecil determined that with the first symptoms of further

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[1] Descifrada de Don Guerau á su Mag[d].—Don Guerau al Duque de Alva, dos de Setiembre: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] 'Avisos que ha dado Geo Kempe en Madrid, Setiembre 19.'—*MSS. Simancas.*

[3] Huntingdon to Cecil, August 24: *Burghley Papers*, vol. i. So dangerous was the Court that Huntingdon, after giving his information, added, 'Take heed to which of your companions you utter this, though you be now but five together.'

rebellion Mary Stuart should die; she at least should not be carried off to be a head and rallying point to the Queen's enemies.[1]

But the cloud, as so many others had done, broke and passed off. Alva would run no risk without positive orders from Philip; and Philip was too full of the dangers which he expected from the peace in France to be willing to take further quarrels on himself. Two Spanish officers went over to Aberdeen and stayed a week or two with Huntly, at Strathbogie, to look about them. The King of Spain offered Elizabeth his friendly assistance in Scotland; but his interference was graciously declined, and Philip said no more. Clinton lay in the Channel with the fleet,[2] either to defend the country from invasion, or to pay the honours of the passage to the Queen of Spain as the event might turn.

October. At the beginning of October the huge armada weighed anchor in the Scheldt, and swept with a leading breeze down Channel without approaching the English shores. The Queen's ships, with the flying squadrons of privateers, hung about the skirts of the Spaniards till they were in the open waters of the Atlantic; but courtesies and compliments were inter-

[1] 'Al primero movimiento que haya en este reyno cortarán la cabeza de la Reyna de Escocia—assi esta en el consejo desta Reyna resuelto y acordado.'—Don Guerau to Philip, September 25: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] Much reduced from its intended strength, owing to the Queen's economies. 'La Reyna toma grande enojo en ver que la trayàn á firmar cedula de treinta mill libras gastadas con el aparato desta armada, y assi cessa del todo el armar mas de las diez naves de que he dado avìso á V. Mag^d que estan en orden.'—Don Guerau to Philip, September 2: *MSS. Simancas.*

changed instead of cannon shot. The English Admiral went on board the Royal vessel and presented the Princess with a diamond which had been given by Philip to Queen Mary; and the French ambassador was driven sorrowfully to conclude that there was no ill-will between the Catholic King and his heretic sister-in-law, and that Spain and England would soon compose their differences.[1] The English Ministers themselves yielded to the pleasant hope that perhaps it might be so. Ridolfi, the Pope's agent, the most passionate firebrand in Europe, volunteered his services for the exchange of the arrested ships and property; and so plausible was he that even the acute Walsingham recommended Ridolfi to Cecil as a person in whom he might confidently rely.[2]

Meantime Scotland was seething and fermenting in the expectation of the Queen of Scots' return. Both parties denounced Elizabeth—the Protestants for her breach of promise, the rest for the insulting and imperious attitude which she had assumed towards their country; yet all were persuaded that the Queen was really coming back; and the only question was whether Elizabeth was to dictate the conditions, or whether the restoration was to be forced upon her with a high hand.

Commissioners from both King and Queen had been required to come to London where they could be heard upon their several claims; but neither party had been

[1] La Mothe, October 10.

[2] Walsingham to Cecil, October 22: *MSS. Domestic.*

anxious for haste. The new Regent and his friends were hoping that something might occur to change Elizabeth's purpose once more, Chatelherault and Maitland waited for the result of their application to Alva.

Maitland's heart was set steadily on one point—to bring Elizabeth on her knees before his own mistress. If it could be accomplished by force, so much the better, but the treaty would be a road as sure, though less rapid, to the same end. He expected that the conditions would be strained in the hope that they might be rejected. If this was Elizabeth's purpose he meant to disappoint her by agreeing to everything however humiliating, being satisfied that when the Queen of Scots was once at liberty whatever engagements she might make would snap like rotten cords.

August. He was staying through the summer and autumn at Blair Athol,[1] recruiting his shaken health among the glens and mountains. Cultivated far beyond the wild men on whom he played as upon instruments, Maitland would at any age of the world have been in the first rank of statesmen. He had little in him of high moral purpose in the technical sense of the words, but he was a passionate Scot, proud of his own intellect, and prouder of his country, to which he devoted himself with a tenacity of purpose that no temptation of private interest could affect. He remains with all his faults a person singularly interesting, and

[1] Maitland was the Earl's brother-in-law.

whatever will throw light upon his character deserves to be carefully studied.

After the sharp burst of scorn with which he had spoken of the destruction of Hamilton he resumed his self-command, and pretending to be satisfied that his mistress must abandon the hope of recovering her liberty by revolution, he sketched to Sussex an outline of the conditions which he said that he was prepared to urge upon her acceptance. The sore subject of the title might be dropped conclusively. The Queen of Scots should promise never again to molest the Queen of England, and she 'should strengthen her obligations with her great seal and oath.' The Emperor and the Kings of France and Spain would be sufficient securities. These Sovereigns would 'bind themselves to become her enemies if she broke her engagements,' and an Act of Parliament might then be passed in England cutting her off from the succession. The Queen of England 'should dispose of her in marriage;' 'the chief persons in Scotland that took her side should be hostages for her, and the Queen of Scots should either reside freely herself in England or the Prince should come there in her place.'[1]

These offers naturally appeared to Sussex 'as ample as upon the sudden he could conceive needed to be demanded.' His one objection was that 'the performance of them depended only upon conscience, and rested in the will and liberty of the persons that should perform.'

[1] Maitland to Sussex, June 29; Sussex to Maitland, July 5: *MSS. Scotland.*

He had no confidence in Maitland. He doubted whether he was dealing honestly with him, and he intimated that 'by-practices' would be found dangerous, and that 'her Majesty had subjects who would provide for her surety whatever became of themselves.' But the proposals, if made in sincerity, deserved consideration, and while sending them on to the council Sussex used the opportunity which Maitland's letter gave him to ask for an explanation of the problem which was perplexing everybody—why he who had so long acted with the Protestants had gone over to the other side. He had been one of those who had advocated harder measures for the Queen of Scots than the Queen of England would allow. 'The persons were the same, the cause the same, the matter the same.' 'How had severity which was just one day become unjust the next?' 'There was neither wisdom in it nor philosophy.'[1]

A note from Maitland to his brother explains the object of his first letter to Sussex. He was wishing merely to recover for himself the confidence of the English council;[2] but a correspondence followed characteristic both of Sussex and himself.

'You ask me why I have changed my mind,' he

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[1] Sussex to Maitland, July 5: *MSS. Scotland.*

[2] 'I send you herewith the copy of my letter to the Earl of Sussex which you desire, wherein you will think I have gone very far; yet I did it not without consideration. I open nothing but that I know is already in hand and muckle mair. I would they had that opinion of me that I dealt squarely and roundly with them; and my opinion will not make the matter up or down.'—Maitland to the Laird of Coldingham, July 17: *MSS.* Ibid.

replied. 'Have you never changed yours? Those are not the wisest men who remain always of one opinion. The skilful sailing master applies his course as the wind and weather drive him. You speak of philosophy; I have none of it. Yet if I turned my mind that way I would not study it after the intractable discipline of the Stoics, but would rather become a student in the school where it is taught that wise men's minds must be led by probable reasons. That same firm, certain, unchangeable, and undoubting persuasion which is requisite in matters of faith must not be required in matters of policy; and good and evil are not such in themselves but in their relation to other things. You say persons, cause, and matter are the same. It is not so, for time has altered many things. The affections of men are changed in both realms and the persons are altered. The person of the late Regent was a circumstance of no small moment. And severity was a matter which might well vary with the change only of time. To sequestrate the Queen for a season might be required; to keep her all her days in prison would be rigour intolerable. Were it true that I had advised more hard dealing, yet the substance of things is not changed by our opinion. They are not good or ill, rigorous or equitable, because we think them so. I might have been wrong then and I might be right now —but it is not so. I may have been with those that persuaded worse to be done to the Queen of Scots by your Sovereign, but I was never a persuader of such matters myself. I never went about from the begin-

ning to advise her destruction, nor meant at any time ill to her person. A month after the late Regent accepted office I dealt earnestly with him to accord with the Queen. From first to last I have laboured always that the matter should be taken up by accord.'[1]

The high ground of moral abstraction was pleasant to Sussex. He burnished up the rusty weapons of his school days, pelting his adversary with logical formulas, and fastening upon his heretical views of good and evil. He ran over the various steps which had been taken by the party of which Maitland had been a member.

'To depose a Sovereign,' he said, 'was a serious matter, not to be taken up lightly and laid aside because times were changed. Alteration on such a point was not wisdom but frivolous mutabilitation, unless indeed the cause alleged for the deposition had been discovered to be false. He desired to be satisfied whether Maitland thought it *was* false.

'What your party did in England,' he continued, 'tended not to a short restraint of your Queen, but was directly either to deliver her captive into your own custodies or to bind the Queen to detain her so as she should never trouble Scotland more. If her captivity or a worse matter was meant, God and your own conscience do know, only this I am sure, that if her Majesty would have digested that which was openly delivered unto her by the general consent of your whole company, in such sort as ye all desired, advised, and

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[1] Maitland to Sussex, July 16, condensed: *MSS. Scotland.*

earnestly—I will not say passionately, persuaded her at that time to do for her own surety, the benefit of Scotland, and the continuing of amity between both the realms, there had been worse done to your Queen than either her Majesty or any subject of England whom you take to be least free from passions could be induced to think meet to be done.'[1]

Maitland did not care to prolong the argument. He said he was ready to answer for his conduct to his own mistress when she pleased to call him to account for it, and he was working loyally to deserve the pardon which she had long before bestowed upon him. Sussex sent the correspondence to the Court, and Elizabeth complimented him for having come off with honour from an encounter with one whom she called 'the flower of the wits of Scotland.' 'She was more pleased with him,' she said, 'than if he had won an action in the field;' 'she always thought him wise, but had never seen a more absolute proof of it; he had overmatched and confounded Lidington, not only with the truth, but with the sharp good order in which he had expounded it.'[2]

Still unless Mary Stuart got herself killed, Elizabeth had determined to send her back, and was not again inclined to change her mind. She said only she would have conditions which should enable her to 'command their observance;' she did not mean to depend on promises; besides hostages she would have some castle or castles

[1] Sussex to Maitland, July 29: *MSS. Scotland.*

[2] Elizabeth to Sussex, August 11: *MSS. Scotland.*

in her own hands or in the hands of Scots on whom she could rely.[1]

Sussex advised her strongly to secure her ground beforehand, and even as 'a means towards the peace,' allow him to take Edinburgh and Dumbarton. She contented herself however with sending a sharp message to Chatelherault and Argyle, that if they meddled with Lennox and Morton she did not mean to be 'so deluded' as to pass it over. Herries having given fresh trouble, she permitted Sussex to make one more foray into Galloway, where he blew up Dumfries Castle and left 'not a stone house standing capable of giving shelter to armed men.'[2] Having shown in this way that she was not afraid and would endure no trifling, she proceeded seriously with the consideration of the treaty. Sussex lamented still that he had been forbidden 'to go through with things;' 'the heavier the hand of the English Government the easier, simpler, and more durable,' he thought, 'the composition would be.' But the Queen considered that for the present enough had been done. The difficulty now was rather in restraining the King's party, who in desperation, and perhaps privately instigated by Cecil, might try to make a composition impossible. Lennox, under pretence of public order, hanged a party of thirty to forty Gordons whom he caught somewhere: 'shrewd justice' as even Sussex was obliged to term it. Elizabeth required a bond from Chatelherault and his friends that they would

[1] Elizabeth to Sussex, August 11: *MSS. Scotland*

[2] Ibid.

keep the peace and would not bring in French or Spaniards. The Earl of Argyle, Huntly, and others assembled to sign it at a house of Lord Athol's, and ran a narrow chance of being surprised and murdered. The bond however was completed and sent up. The Regent was lectured into behaving himself. Lady Lennox made an effort to induce Elizabeth to pause. The Queen of Scots had tried to persuade her that she had been accused unjustly of the murder, and had promised 'to love her as an aunt and respect her as her mother-in-law,' if in future they could be friends. Lady Lennox replied with a protest to Cecil against the restoration as tending to obscure the memory of the crimes of which she was indisputably guilty.[1]

September.

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[1] LADY LENNOX TO CECIL.

'September 8.

'Good Master Secretary,—You shall understand that I have heard of some Commissioners that shall go to the Queen of Scotland to treat with her of matters tending to her liberty to go thither, of which she herself doth already make assured account. The knowledge thereof is to me of no small discomfort, considering that notwithstanding the grievous murder which by her means only upon my son her husband was executed, divers persons in this realm doth yet doubt, and a great many doth credit, that since her coming hither she is found clear, and not to be culpable of that fact; because, as they say, since all the conventions and conferences had between the nobility touching that matter, it has not been published and made known that the said Queen was found in any way guilty therein. Much more when they already deceived shall see her released to go home at her pleasure (though upon some devised conditions to serve the present), their former conceits shall be verified; and therein they being satisfied it may appear that she hath sustained insufferable wrongs to be for no offence so long restrained within this realm. The rest thereof I refer to your wisdom. I am enforced to crave your friendship herein, and to impart this my meaning to her Majesty, whose Highness I trust will hold me excused, considering whereupon I

Elizabeth herself too had for ever fresh and fresh causes of suspicion dragged before her. A gold brooch fell into her hands in which the lion of Scotland was represented crushing a leopard's skull. The rose and thistle were twined below them with the words—

'Ainsy abattra le lyon Escouçoys le liépart Anglois.'

'If that be our hap,' said Randolph, by whom the emblem was sent to London, 'if that be our hap to have our lion of England clawn by the powle, we have overlong nourished so cruel a beast that will devour the whole estate.'[1]

Nevertheless the Queen persevered. She had given her word to the King of France, she said, and she meant to keep it; adding, with a proud consciousness of the truth of the words, that no Sovereign in Christendom would have shown the forbearance which she had shown throughout the whole business.[2] She repeated her desire that Lennox and Morton should send commissioners to London. She assured them that they need be under no alarm. She would provide as carefully for them as for herself, but the cause must come to an end; 'she could no longer with honour or reason continue to hold the Queen of Scots in restraint.'[3]

Of all conditions the best would be the Queen of Scots' marriage to some safe person, Sir Henry Carey

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ground my desire for the stay of her who otherwise I doubt shall stir up such ill as hereafter all too late may be repented.'—*MSS.* MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS, *Rolls House.*

[1] Randolph to Cecil, October 2. Compare La Mothe, *Dépêches*, October 25.

[2] La Mothe: Ibid.

[3] Elizabeth to Sussex, September 28: *MSS. Scotland.*

or some one like him. Could this be arranged other securities might be dispensed with; if not, it was necessary to tie her hands. The French Government promised to be contented with anything provided she was still recognized as Queen. Elizabeth fell back upon the terms which had been sketched by Maitland. England, Scotland, the people, and their Sovereigns should be united in 'a perfect amity;' without prejudice to her future claims the Queen of Scots should abandon definitely her present pretences to the crown of England; and she should swear, in the presence of the assembled English and Scotch nobility, never more to trouble the peace of that realm. She should make no league with foreign Powers to England's prejudice, introduce no foreign troops, and form no marriage without Elizabeth's consent, especially none with the Duke of Anjou. The religion established in Scotland should not be changed; Dumbarton Castle should be held by an English garrison; the Prince should be brought to England to be educated. To obviate any future objection that she was consenting under compulsion, the Queen of Scots should, 'by an instrument to be devised in due form of law, declare herself at liberty,' and 'confirm the articles collectively and separately under the Great Seal of Scotland.' Should she violate her engagements in any part, 'she should be in mere justice adjudged, deputed, and taken as a person, by her own consent, deprived of any title, challenge, or claim to the eventual English succession,' and 'the Queen of England should have liberty in the same cause to pro-

mote the young King by all means possible to the honour of Scotland.'

These conditions were to be sent down to Chatsworth, before further steps were taken, for the Queen of Scots' approval. If she made difficulties, she was to be reminded of her incessant conspiracies against Elizabeth, 'such as no Sovereign had ever remitted when the pretending party was in the power of the possessor of the crown;' and if this failed, she was to be told 'that the Queen's Majesty had hitherto forborne to publish such matters as she might have done to have touched the Queen of Scots for the murder of her husband,' with a hint that if driven to extremities, Elizabeth might yet have recourse to those means for her own protection.[2]

There was no fear however that Mary Stuart would require to be pressed in this way. If France continued cold and Spain apathetic, her friends had agreed that she was to raise no more difficulties than would suffice to allay suspicion. The one paramount object was to get her out of England, and this once done, means could be found to break the chains of the strictest treaty which art could draw. The Pope, with his power to bind and to loose, would absolve her of her oaths; and 'a way would be found' to escape from the more substantial engagements. Maitland had instructed

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[1] Articles of accord. Endorsed by Cecil, 'Inter Reginam Angliæ et Scotiæ, September, 1570': *MSS.* Mary Queen of Scots. Projet d'accord: Teulet, vol. ii.

[2] Notes in Cecil's hand: *MSS.* Mary Queen of Scots.

her from time to time in the course which she was to pursue. Two of his letters were intercepted by Lennox, and at last, though written in cipher, were read by Cecil's industry—at last, though with difficulty, and not till later in the winter, not in time to cut off the negotiations in the bud, but in time to prevent the deadly flower from growing to maturity.

As representing the spirit in which the Queen of Scots and her friends were about to enter into the conference, and the sincerity of those professions with which Mary Stuart had requested the Pope's permission to illude Elizabeth, the substance of these letters may be given in this place.

On the 9th of August, while still at Blair Athol, and after his correspondence with Sussex, Maitland wrote to the Queen of Scots to tell her to allow nothing to interfere with the completion of the treaty. Help eventually might be looked for from abroad. Elizabeth was false—on his life he could swear that she meant no good—but Mary Stuart must continue to treat with her as though 'she had confidence in her friendship,' 'and must give her words for words.' [1]

October. To the Bishop of Ross a few days later he wrote more in detail. 'We are to yield in everything,' he said, 'and receive humbly at English hands what they please to give us. It breaks my heart to see us at this point that Englishmen may give us law as they will. I understand by your letter that

[1] Maitland to the Queen of Scots, August 9: *MSS.* MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS, *Rolls House.*

the Duke of Norfolk is at liberty, which is the best news I have heard this twelve months; and unless it had been the Queen of Scots' restitution, or that the Queen of England had gone *ad Patres*, ye could not have sent me any word whereat I would have been more glad. I hope to God since that has come to pass, the rest shall follow shortly. When ye write the Queen of England gives you good words, ye do well to make semblant to believe her, and to hope for goodness at her hands, but on my peril in your heart trust never word she speaks, for ye shall find all plain craft without true meaning. Always continue in the treaty until the untruth appears of itself. You desire my opinion what is to be answered to the demand of the Prince, some of the nobility for hostages, and the castle of Dumbarton. I will write you frankly what I think. The Queen of Scots is in the Queen of England's hands, and I think she intends never with her goodwill to part from her, and therefore to satisfy other princes proposes the harder conditions which she thinks shall be refused. It is for the Queen of Scots hard to deliver her son in England, and it is hard for Scotland to have our principal strengths in the hands of England. Yet rather than the Queen of Scots should remain still a prisoner, the conditions cannot be so hard that at length I would stick upon to recover her liberty; for if that point were once compassed, other things may be helped again with time. It is well done for the Queen of Scots to make difficulty that the Prince be delivered in England,

because it will let the people of Scotland see that she is careful of him. Yet for the matter itself I see no sik danger in it, neither for preservation of his person nor yet for peril may thereafter follow to the Queen of Scots herself by setting up of him against her, that I would advise her to refuse it in the end. Those that are enemies to her title in England would rather destroy her person than his, because he is but a bairn, and the succession of his body is far off; but her person is the mould to cast more bairns in; so long as she is safe they will never press to destroy him; besides that, I think, having interest to the title after her, his nomination among them shall further it with the people.

'Besides, if she were once at liberty, I fear not that means shall be found to make both England and Scotland loth to enterprise far against her. I speak all to this end, that in any wise her liberty be procured whatsoever the conditions be; press it to the best, but if we fail we must accept the worst. As I write of the Prince I mean of Dumbarton. It is not the being of Dumbarton in English hands that will more thrall Scotland to England, than Berwick may do without Dumbarton; nor yet may Dumbarton keep Frenchmen or strangers out of Scotland if the Queen of Scots desire them; for she being at home, Leith, any part of Fife, Dundee, Aberdeen, and briefly all the coast of Scotland, will serve that turn as well as Dumbarton can do. Yield as little as ye may, but yield to all rather than she remain a prisoner, because I think her life always

in danger *in medio nationis pravæ*. You write of a secret purpose touching the Queen of Scots' escape. I pray you beware with that point, for albeit I would be content to be banished Scotland all the days of my life to have the Queen of Scots obtaining liberty without the Queen of England's consent, for the great uncourtesy that she hath used unto her, rather than have it with her consent and I the best earldom in Scotland between hands, because I would she might be even with the Queen of England, yet I dare not advise her Majesty to press at it without she be well assured there be no kind of danger in executing of her enterprise. I fear deadly the craft of her enemies that will not stick to set out some of themselves to make her Majesty offers to convey her away, and let her see probability to give her courage to take it in hand, and then, they being privy to it, to trap her in a snare, and so to execute against her person their wicked intentions, which now for fear of the world and shame of other princes they dare not do. Save her life whatever ye do, and sure I am God with time shall bring all other things to pass to our contentment. But that point lost can never be recovered, and then all is gone.'[1]

When this letter was read by Elizabeth and Cecil it was made evident to them at once, that not a single scheme of revenge or ambition was intended to be seriously abandoned, and that for all the oaths that might be sworn, the French and Spanish armies were to be

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[1] Maitland to the Bishop of Ross, August 17: *MSS.* QUEEN OF SCOTS.

introduced into Scotland at the first opportunity.

As yet however, and conscious of her own sincerity, Elizabeth was able to half-persuade herself that Mary Stuart was weary of conspiracy, and was willing to remain quiet till she herself was dead. The Queen of Scots' protestations were incessant. She for ever said that she had some mysterious secret which she was longing to communicate, but would only reveal in person. Elizabeth did not believe her, yet did not utterly disbelieve her; and—a sufficient proof that she was serious about the treaty—she appointed no less a person than Cecil to go to Chatsworth to negotiate with her. To the smooth letter she replied in a tone which even Maitland could not accuse of insincerity:—

'You have caused a rebellion in my realm,' she said, 'and you have aimed at my own life. You will say you did not mean these things. Madam, I would I could think so poorly of your understanding and could lay your fault on your want of knowledge. You say that you desire to heal the wounds which you have caused. Well, I send two of my council to you who know all my mind. I am not influenced by the menaces of France. Those who would work upon me through my fears know but little of my character. You tell me you have some mystery which you wish to make known to me. If it be so, you must write it. You are aware that I do not think it well that you and I should meet. I trust you will give me cause to forget your faults. God knows how welcome that would be to me.'[1]

[1] Elizabeth to the Queen of Scots, September 17. Abridged: TEULET, vol. ii. p. 406.

With the utmost art Elizabeth could have scarcely counterfeited language which, if she meant well and honourably, would have expressed better what ought to have been her feeling. She would not see the Queen of Scots herself. It was not without misgiving that she trusted even Cecil within the reach of her fascinations. No one perhaps except Knox had escaped from an encounter with this extraordinary woman altogether uninfluenced. Not a spell of subtlest glamoury would be left untried on Cecil; and it was impossible to forget that he was going into the presence of a person whom disease or accident might make at any moment his titular, perhaps his reigning Sovereign. Both the Queen and Lady Lennox warned him at his parting not to be 'won over,' and his confident promises scarcely reassured them.[1]

The Bishop of Ross and Sir Walter Mildmay accompanied him.

'The Bishop of Ross,' wrote Don Guerau, 'sends me word by one of his servants that he will return in a week and tell me what his mistress will do. I know for certain that the Duke of Anjou is a suitor for her hand, and that she is not disinclined to accept him. But her English friends do not like it, and your Majesty may believe that I do not. The Catholics, your Highness is aware, are also against her marriage with the Duke of Norfolk, not being assured that he is a Christian. The Earl of Arundel and Lord Lumley undertake however that the Duke will submit to the

[1] Lady Lennox to Cecil, October 5. *MSS.* QUEEN OF SCOTS. La Mothe, *Dépêches*, October 16.

Holy See, and for the sake of a crown perhaps he will do anything good or bad. He has been cool about the marriage lately, but it seems that he will take it up again, especially as he expects to be shortly restored fully to liberty. Your Majesty will instruct me how to act. The release of the Queen of Scots and her marriage in a good quarter will bring with it the restoration of religion and the consequent settlement of the Low Countries. I hold myself, as your Majesty commands, at the disposition of the Duke of Alva. The Bishop of Ross tells me that if his mistress may depend on assistance from us, she will remain where she is; if not, she will agree to the treaty.'[1]

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[1] Don Guerau to Philip, October 15 and October 25: *MSS. Simancas.*

CHAPTER LV.

THE RIDOLFI CONSPIRACY.

WHILE the political and religious passions of the English nobility were increasing in heat and intensity, the economical condition of the commons was slowly improving. The social convulsions which accompanied the earlier stages of the Reformation had settled down. The State papers are no longer crowded with complaints of the oppression of the poor. The people could again be trusted with arms without fear that they would use them against the landowners. The interruption of trade with the Low Countries permitted the yeoman once more to drive his plough over the pastures from which he had been expelled by the sheep-owners, and the prices of wages and food had satisfactorily adjusted themselves. The Flemings, who had crowded across the Channel in tens of thousands, brought with them their arts and industries, and while the fine ladies and gentlemen still looked to the East for the silks and satins in which they fluttered round Elizabeth, the artisans, the labourers, and the farmers were clothed

from the looms which had been brought from Ghent and Bruges to their own doors. But the recovered prosperity was partial; the experiment of the mart at Hamburgh had been tolerably successful; but the English merchants and sailors were tempted from legitimate trade by the more profitable occupation of privateering, and in the 14th year of Elizabeth, the burden of all the vessels in the kingdom which were engaged in ordinary commerce scarcely exceeded 50,000 tons.[1] The largest merchantman which sailed from the port of London was no bigger than a modern collier brig.[2] In the harbours of Devonshire and Cornwall there were but a hundred and fifty vessels of all kinds pursuing any lawful calling, and the most considerable of them would have appeared small by the side of a common Channel coasting schooner. At a time when an unarmed ship could escape from pirates in the open water only by being too worthless to be seized, the English sailors eschewed a calling which was as dangerous as it was inglorious.

It was fortunate for Elizabeth that another occupation was open to them, that the sea-going portion of her subjects were those in whom the ideas of the Reformation had taken the deepest root, and that the merchant therefore could change his character for that of the buccaneer with the approval of his conscience as well as to the advantage of his purse.

The Catholic spirit was naturally strongest where

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[1] The exact figures are 50,926, List of vessels trading from all parts of England, 1572; *Domestic MSS. Rolls House.*

[2] 240 tons; Ibid.

the people were least exposed to contact with strangers. In the Midland and Northern counties, where the feudal traditions lingered, the habits were unaltered and the superstitions undispelled. The customs by which old English country life had been made beautiful—the festivals of the recurring seasons, the church bells, the monuments of the dead, the roofless aisles of the perishing abbeys—all were silent preachers of the old faith and passionate protests against the new; while for good and evil, peer and peasant, knight and yeoman, were linked together in the ancient social organization which thus survived unbroken. In sharp contrast, the merchant of the seaport was driven by his occupation to comprehend and utilize the knowledge which was breaking upon mankind. To him to live by custom was bankruptcy and ruin. Unless he could grow with the times, unless he could distinguish fact from imagination, and laws of nature from theories of faith, he was left behind in the race by keener and less devout competitors. It was no longer enough for him to christen his ship by the name of a saint, and pray to Paul or Peter to bring it safe to harbour. Peter had enough to do to save his own bark in the tempest which was raging, and had no leisure to listen to the seaman's orisons. The stars were now the mariner's patrons, and the tables of longitude and latitude were his Liturgy. The sun and moon pointed the road to him to the Pearl Islands and gleaming gold mines of the New Continent, and he looked out on nature and the world, on God and man, and all things in earth and heaven, with altered and open eyes.

When driven from legitimate trade, the English merchants, instead of flying at the Government as the Spanish ambassador had hoped, flew upon the spoils of those who forced them to abandon it. They swarmed out over the world, treating it like Pistol, as the oyster which their sword would open. Their rights were in their cannon, their title to their booty in their strength to win it. Careless of life and careless of justice as Alva's warriors themselves, they were their fit antagonists in the great battle between the dying and the rising creeds.

But there was another form, quieter, purer, nobler far, in England in which the new ideas were developing themselves, and that was Puritanism. The Church of England was a latitudinarian experiment, a contrivance to enable men of opposing creeds to live together without shedding each other's blood. It was not intended, and it was not possible, that Catholics or Protestants should find in its formulas all that they required. The services were deliberately made elastic; comprehending in the form of positive statement only what all Christians agreed in believing, while opportunities were left open by the rubric to vary the ceremonial according to the taste of the congregations. The management lay with the local authorities in town or parish: where the people were Catholics the Catholic aspect could be made prominent; where Popery was a bugbear, the people were not disturbed by the obtrusion of doctrines which they had outgrown. In itself it pleased no party or section. To the heated controversialist its chief merit

was its chief defect. Besides the Queen there were perhaps half a dozen prominent people in England who had intelligence enough to estimate the real value of forms and doctrines; the passions which the Church was intended to check necessarily heaved under its surface; but the scandals and controversies which were incessantly bursting out should be regarded rather as an evidence of what the country would have been without the Establishment than as indicating that the Establishment itself was unsuited to the end for which it was constituted.

Conscience, Elizabeth never wearied of proclaiming, was unmolested; every English subject might think what he pleased. No Inquisition examined into the secrets of opinion; and before the rebellion no questions were asked as to what worship or what teaching might be heard within the walls of private houses. The Protestant fanatics, who had from time to time attempted prosecutions, were always checked and discouraged; and unless the laws were ostentatiously violated, the Government was wilfully blind. Toleration was the universal practice in the widest sense which the nature of the experiment permitted; and if it was now found necessary to draw the cords more tightly, the fault was not with Elizabeth or her ministers, but with the singular and uncontrollable frenzy of theology, which regards the exclusive supremacy of a peculiar doctrine as of more importance than the Decalogue.

It has been seen that the Catholics at the beginning of the reign applied to Rome for permission to attend

the English service. Their request was considered and refused, and their duties to the Church and to the Crown being thus forced into collision, the more devout among them became rapidly infected with disloyalty. The outward submission of the clergy at Elizabeth's accession is not to be construed into a real or even pretended approval of the changes which were then reintroduced. They had hoped for a time that the Liturgy would have received the sanction of the Pope, and had England consented to submit to the Holy See, that sanction might have been the price of the compromise. But many of them, when the hope passed away, reconciled themselves to the Catholic communion and sued for absolution for their unwilling apostasy. Noblemen who at first had attended the parish churches, no longer appeared there. The publication of the Bull precipitated the reaction, and thenceforward no one could pretend to be a sincere Catholic without at the same time declaring himself a traitor. 'The people of Lancashire refused utterly to come any more to divine service in the English tongue.' Lord Derby forbade the further use of the Liturgy in his private chapel.[1] Grindal, who had been appointed Archbishop of York, found on arriving at his diocese that 'the gentlemen' were 'not affected to godly religion.' They observed 'the old fasts and holidays.' 'They prayed still on their strings of beads.' In London he had been chiefly troubled with the overstraight Genevans. In the North he was in

[1] The Bishop of Carlisle to Sussex, October 16, 1570: *MSS. Border.*

another world.[1] Disguised priests flitted about like bats in the twilight, or resided in private houses in 'serving men's apparel.' Corpse candles were lighted again beside the coffins of the dead, while 'clerks and curates' sang requiems at their side. In other parts of England ecclesiastical officials, 'nusselled in the Canon Law,' recommenced the iniquities of the spiritual courts, 'maintaining the Pope's authority,' 'propounding questions at the visitation and sessions,' 'rebuking the Protestant preachers,' 'encouraging or winking at persons accused of Papistry, never giving them a sharp word.' They 'provoked the people to blaspheme God, and ministered occasion to sedition;' and again with the doctrines they brought back the pleasant practices of the good old times—commuting penances for money, compounding for moral enormities, and grinding the widow and the orphan by their fees and extortions.[2]

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[1] Grindal to Cecil, August 29.

[2] 'Appeals in causes of reformation of life are daily committed in the Arches, and prosecuted there contrary to the express law of the decretals, and thereby notorious faults left unreformed and the offenders covered or justified, contrary to God's Holy Word. As for example:

'Mrs Neames of Woodnesborough, a woman not only of evil life herself, but also a broodmother of others, and James Augustine of Staplehurst, who had deflowered two maids and got them with child. These twain being heinous offenders, and of the diocese of Canterbury, were justified and restored to their Romish honesty again by the Arches.

'Louis —— of Sommerby, having deflowered two maids and got them with child, appealed to the Arches, and is not reformed but restored to his Romish priestly iniquity again.

'Baker of Bury, in Suffolk, who was taken with another man's wife, by appeal first to the Arches and then to the Delegates, is by them justified and not reformed.

'Appeals in cases of controversy between party and party, contrary to both law and equity, do pass, whereby the judges, advocates, and proctors do much enrich themselves and

The reaction was especially marked in Norfolk and Suffolk. An incipient rebellion had been smothered there; but the Duke was passionately loved by the people, who were described as being 'wildly minded.' Protestantism had been, as usual, injudicious, when judgment was particularly required. The services in Norwich Cathedral 'had been denuded of all which could savour of Babylon.' 'Certain of the prebendaries' had changed the administration of the Sacrament, pauperized the ceremonial, broken down the organ, and, so far as lay in them, had turned the quire into a Genevan conventicle.[1] Where the tendencies to Rome were strongest, there the extreme Reformers considered themselves bound to exhibit in the most marked contrast the unloveliness of the purer creed. It was they who furnished the noble element in the Church of England. It was they who had been its martyrs; they who, in their scorn of the world, in their passionate desire to consecrate themselves in life and death to the Almighty, were able to rival in self-devotion the Ca-

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burden and weary the poor people.

'The enormities and abuses of spiritual judges in extorting money with the corrupt dealing of Chancellors and Commissaries. It is to be noted further of Archdeacons who savour of Rome and favour not good religion, they abusing their authority do more harm than any preacher doth profit in divine sermons, partly by severe handling the preachers, and sometimes by cruel threatenings, withdrawing the people from God's Word and keeping them in doubt in matters of faith. In the late visitation at Norwich very few preachers escaped without an open rebuke at the lawyers' hands. Neither was any Papist reformed or touched with any sharp word.'—Abuses in the Canon Law, 1569, 1570: *MSS. Domestic.* Endorsed in Cecil's hand.

[1] The Queen to the Bishop of Norwich, September 25: *MSS. Domestic.* Cecil's hand.

tholic saints. But they had not the wisdom of the serpent, and certainly not the harmlessness of the dove.

Had they been let alone—had they been unharassed by perpetual threats of revolution and a return of the persecutions—they too were not disinclined to reason and good sense. A remarkable specimen survives, in an account of the Church of Northampton, of what English Protestantism could become under favouring conditions. Under the combined management of the Bishop of Peterborough and the Mayor and Corporation of the city, the laity and clergy of Northamptonshire worked harmoniously together. On Sundays and holydays, the usual services were read from the Prayer-book. In the morning there was a sermon; in the afternoon, when prayers were over, the 'youth' were instructed in Calvin's Catechism. On Tuesdays and Thursdays, a 'lecture of Scripture' was read, with extracts from the Liturgy, and afterwards there was a general meeting of the congregation, with the Mayor in the chair, for 'correction of discord, blasphemy, whoredom, drunkenness, or offences against religion.' On Saturdays, the ministers of the different neighbourhoods assembled to compare opinions and discuss difficult texts; and once a quarter all the clergy of the county met for mutual survey of their own general behaviour. Offences given or taken were mentioned, explanations heard, and reproof administered when necessary. Communion was held four times a year. The clergyman of each parish visited from house to house during the preceding fortnight, to prepare his flock. 'The table was in the body

of the church, at the far end of the middle aisle;' and while the people were communicating 'a minister in the pulpit read to them comfortable scriptures of the Passion.'

From these arrangements it is clear that the Genevan element preponderated, but there follows a remarkable proof that even Calvinism, when left to itself, did not necessarily imply ecclesiastical despotism. The congregation of Northampton, 'as a confession of faith,' 'accepted Holy Scripture as the Word of God, to be read alike by all, learned and unlearned;' but 'they did condemn as a tyrannous yoke whatever men had set up of their own invention to make articles of faith or bind men's consciences to their laws and statutes; they contented themselves with the simplicity of the pure Word of God and doctrine thereof, a summary abridgment of which they acknowledged to be contained in that Confession of Faith used by all Christians, commonly called the Creed of the Apostles.'[1]

The fury of the times unhappily forbad the maintenance of this wise and prudent spirit. As the powers of evil gathered to destroy the Church of England, a fiercer temper was required to combat with them, and Protestantism became impatient, like David, of the uniform in which it was sent to the battle. It would have fared ill with England had there been no hotter blood there than filtered in the sluggish veins of the officials of the Establishment. There needed an enthu-

[1] Order of the services in the Church of Northampton, June 5, 1571: *MSS. Domestic, Rolls House.*

siasm fiercer far to encounter the revival of Catholic fanaticism; and if the young Puritans, in the heat and glow of their convictions, snapped their traces and flung off their harness, it was they, after all, who saved the Church which attempted to disown them, and with the Church saved also the stolid mediocrity to which the fates then and ever committed and commit the government of it.

In the months which followed the suppression of the Northern rebellion, the peace of Cambridge was troubled by the apparition of a man of genius. Thomas Cartwright, now about thirty-five years old, had entered at St John's in 1550. He left the University during the Marian persecution, and kept terms as a law student in London. He returned on the accession of Elizabeth, became a Fellow, and continued in residence, till the Vestment Controversy of 1564 sickened him for a time with English theology, and he went over to Geneva. In Calvin's atmosphere he recovered his spirits, came back to Cambridge, and by some accident was appointed Margaret Professor of Divinity. Cartwright was no doubt at this time a questionable occupant of an English ecclesiastical office. He was at the age when men of noble and fiery natures are impatient of unrealities. He had been ordained deacon, but he had come to understand that the so-called 'Holy Orders,' in their transcendental sense, were things of the past. He destroyed his license. The sole credentials of a teacher which he consented to recognize were the intellect and spirit which had been received direct from God; and

Cecil, as Chancellor of the University, was beset with complaints of the wild views which the Margaret Professor was spreading among the students. Pluralities and non-residence, those comfortable stays and supports of the University dignitaries, he denounced as impious, and the Spiritual Courts 'as damnable, devilish, and detestable.' 'Poor men,' he said, 'did toil and travel, and princes and doctors licked up all. He maintained that those who held offices should do the duties of those offices; that high places in the Commonwealth belonged to merit, and that those who without merit were intruded into authority were thieves and robbers.' In short, he professed the old creed with which all noble-minded men from the beginning have entered into life—the old creed, of which they find in the end that the smallest homœopathic element is the most that mankind will absorb.

Whitgift, then master of Trinity, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and Elizabeth's 'little black parson,' soon sent up to the Court special charges against Cartwright. He had said that archbishop and archdeacon should be abolished in name and office, and that bishops and deacons should be recalled to the Apostolic pattern. Bishops should be elected only by the Church, and ministers were only ministers when called to a spiritual charge. To kneel at the Communion he had called a feeble superstition. Unless opinions like these could be put down, it appeared to the Heads of Houses at Cambridge that all authority in Church and State would be overthrown.[1]

[1] W. Chaterton to Cecil, June 2; Whitgift to Cecil, November 7, 1570: *MSS. Domestic.*

Occupied at the time with serious matters, Cecil was unable for a time to comprehend the nature of Cartwright's offence. He wrote to the Board that he could see nothing in his conduct which could be called improper. The professor appeared simply to have been giving his pupils the result of his own studies of the New Testament. 'Until further orders could be taken,' it would be well if he did not touch on the disputed topics; but beyond this recommendation Cecil declined to go.[1]

Had Cecil's temperance been imitated at the University, moderation might have produced moderation A man of genuine ability is never inaccessible to reason, and had Cartwright been treated discreetly he would have become himself discreet. But the opinion of a statesman weighed nothing with the men who governed Cambridge. The Professor was suspended, and his influence became ten times greater than before. Though the lecture-room was closed to him, the pulpits were free. He had but to open his lips there and his word was absolute. He denounced the unfortunate vestments. The next day, all the students but three in Trinity appeared in chapel without their surplices. It was too much. Cartwright was deprived of his Fellowship and expelled from the University.

Of all types of human beings who were generated by the English Reformation, men like Whitgift are the least interesting. There is something in the constitution of the Establishment which forces them into the

[1] Cecil to the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Houses, August 3: *MSS Domestic.*

administration of it; yet, but for the statesmen to whom they refused to listen, and the Puritans whom they endeavoured to destroy, the old religion would have come back on the country like a returning tide. The Puritans would have furnished new martyrs; the statesmen, through good and evil, would have watched over liberty: but the High Church clergy would have slunk back into conformity, or dwindled to their proper insignificance. The country knew its interests, and their high-handed intolerance had to wait till more quiet times; but they came back to power when the chances of a Catholic revolution were buried in the wreck of the Armada; and they remained supreme till they had once more wearied the world with them, and brought a king and an archbishop to the scaffold.

These petty troubles, however, fertile as they were of mischief in the future, were of small importance by the side of the immediate pressing perils. Nestled in the heart of England lay the bosom serpent, as Walsingham called the Queen of Scots, with the longing eyes of the English nobles fastened upon her as their coming deliverer. There she lay deserving, if crime could deserve, the highest gallows on which ever murderer swung, yet guarded by the mystic sanctity of her birth-claim to the crown.

Cecil has not left on record the impression which Mary Stuart made upon him when he saw for the first time the object of so many years' anxiety. It was not then as when, seventeen years later, those two once more encountered each other, when compromise was

dreamt of no longer, and long-lingering justice was claiming its own at last. What to do with her at present, and till the times were ripe for the sharp remedy of the axe, might well try the strongest intelligence. England, north and south, was trembling on the edge of a second rebellion. The Duke of Norfolk had been released from the Tower, on renewing his promise 'to deal no more in the matter of the Queen of Scots.' A second time he sent a copy of his bond to the very person with whom he was pledging himself not to communicate, meaning bad faith from the first, as the Bishop of Ross, who was in his confidence, admitted.[1] The turn which affairs might take in France was still far from certain. If the Admiral was received at Court, the peace might lead to war with Spain, or the project might yet be revived for the marriage of Anjou and the Queen of Scots;[2] while engagements, guarantees, promises—all the pledges, whether made by the Queen of Scots, by the Court of Paris, or by any or every person who became security for the observance of the treaty—could be brushed away like a cobweb by the all-powerful representative of St Peter. Cecil well

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[1] Confession of the Bishop of Ross, 1571: MURDIN.

[2] On the 31st of August Sir Henry Norris wrote that it was feared the King, after lulling the Admiral into a false security, would destroy him and his friends. Anjou, 'whose haughty mind could not be restrained within a younger brother's portion,' was looking to England and Mary Stuart to provide him with a kingdom and a wife; and Norris warned the Queen that she must stand upon her guard if she wished France to make fair weather with her.—Norris to Elizabeth: *MSS France.*

knew that he was walking on a thin crust with the lava boiling under his feet. Whether the crust was hardening, or whether the fire was eating its way through, time alone could tell him. The Queen of Scots had sent the copy of the articles proposed to her to Brussels and to Paris. She had looked for an instant interference, and both she and her friends were 'dismayed and angered' at Alva's seeming coldness. Arundel, Norfolk, Maitland, and even La Mothe, now advised her to accept the best terms which she could obtain, if only she could recover her freedom. They believed that they would be able to compel Elizabeth to go through with the treaty on her part, if no difficulty was raised by the Queen of Scots herself.

In this spirit therefore she received Cecil at Chatsworth, following Maitland's advice, and fighting over the details of the proposals which were made to her. She showed considerable adroitness in qualifying or altering uncomfortable phrases. In a clause for the punishment of Darnley's murderers she introduced the words 'according to the laws of the realm,' intending, as a marginal note in Cecil's hand indicates, to shelter Bothwell still behind his previous acquittal. She was willing to bind herself to do nothing for the future in prejudice of the Queen of England or her issue; but she inserted, as a marginal note again mentions, 'with no good and honourable meaning,' the word 'lawful'—making the phrase 'lawful issue,' as if Elizabeth might produce issue which would not be lawful.

Yet, on both sides, there appeared a willingness to

come to terms. Cecil was ready to soften violent expressions. The Queen of Scots did not insist on her exceptions, which were introduced perhaps because they were in keeping with her character, and because too much readiness to make concessions might increase Cecil's suspicions. In manner he treated her with the respect due to a princess who might soon be his own sovereign; while on her part, as Elizabeth foresaw, she exerted her utmost power of fascination to win and charm him. It was an encounter of wit in which each was trying to gain an advantage over the other.

'The Queen of Scots,' wrote the Bishop of Ross in a letter which fell afterwards into Cecil's hands, 'hath dealt with Mr Secretary in such sort that he hath promised to be her friend. He likes well of her nature. He promises to travail that she and the Queen of England shall speak together, and hath given his counsel how she should behave herself in that case to win the Queen of England's favour. He has spoken to me of the Queen of Scots' marriage by way of conference, seeming to persuade that she will marry with the Earl of Angus; but I have declared plainly that she will never marry a Scottishman. He hath told me secretly he could like well of the Duke of Norfolk's marrying her, but now is no time to speak of it. He saith that the Queen of England fears that the Queen of Scots and Norfolk would wax arrogant in that case; but yet he thinks that this surety that she makes to the Queen of England shall put away that fear and so the matter may be followed. I think he may be made to

October.

labour for that marriage if Norfolk do cause employ him; and in the mean time I will deal as of myself to knit the knot of sure friendship between Norfolk and him, for he shows himself very plain to me in many things.'[1]

By arts which the circumstances justified, Cecil evidently had wound himself into the partial confidence both of the Queen of Scots and of her minister. They had tempted his loyalty and fell into their own snare, and he had discovered thus much at least, that the marriage which Norfolk had professedly ceased to think of was still in steady contemplation. At the end of a fortnight he returned to London, and the two parties in Scotland were requested to send up their respective commissioners without further delay. The representatives of the Queen were immediately ready. Lord Livingston and the Bishop of Galloway were selected to act with the Bishop of Ross. The Regent and his friends, who had persuaded themselves that the danger was passing over, were in despair. They again reminded Elizabeth of her promises at Westminster. 'They said that they were so amazed and astonished that they knew not what counsel to take.' 'Surety there could be none,' they said, 'either for themselves or England, if the Queen of Scots was restored.' Douglas of Lochleven swore he would not keep the Earl of Northumberland a prisoner any longer to please Elizabeth. Randolph applied for his recall, 'finding his credit clean decayed,'

[1] MS. endorsed in Cecil's hand, 'The Bishop of Ross to the Duke of Norfolk,' October 11: *MSS.* MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

and his old friends 'alienated and clean gone from her Majesty's service.' They talked again of revolting to France. They said 'they would reconcile themselves secretly with their own Queen.'[1] Instead of commissioners to treat, they sent up the Commendator of Dumfermline to conjure Elizabeth, in the name of honour, justice, and prudence, to reconsider what she was doing.

The agitation produced no apparent change in Elizabeth's resolution. She said that she did not mean to do anything unjust; she was willing to listen to the Regent's objections; but 'unless he could fortify his cause with such evident reasons as her Majesty might with conscience satisfy herself and with honour answer to the world,' the treaty for the restitution must go forward.

In the mean time however a negotiation was in secret progress which, if successful, might obtain a more favourable hearing for Lennox's remonstrances. The peace was concluded in France, between the Court and the Huguenots, on the 10th of August. As is usually the case after civil convulsions, a desire naturally arose to heal the internal wounds of the country by 'removing the war elsewhere.' Whether England or Spain was to be the object of hostility, depended on whether the Catholics lost or retained their hold over Charles and Catherine. On the one side they might attempt the release of Mary Stuart and her marriage with the Duke

[1] Lennox to Elizabeth, October 13; Sussex to Cecil, November 18: Randolph to Sussex, October 16; Randolph to Cecil November 16; *MSS. Scotland.*

of Anjou; on the other the recollections of St Quentin still rankled; in alliance with Elizabeth and the Prince of Orange, France might appear as the champion of liberty and expel the Spaniards from the Low Countries. To ascertain which of these tendencies was likely to prevail, a young statesman of supreme ability was despatched on a special mission to the French Court. The early history of Francis Walsingham is almost a blank: he was born at Chiselhurst in Kent, in what year is uncertain, nor is anything known of the occupation or station in life of his parents. He was at Cambridge during the Marian persecution, and to escape conformity took refuge in Germany, but for the ten years after he returned to England nothing was publicly heard of him. A note from him on the murder of Darnley however, in November 1568, shows that by that time he had been admitted into Cecil's confidence. He had been selected for the delicate duty of watching the Italian Ridolfi during the Northern rebellion, and when he was appointed minister at Paris, La Mothe was able to warn the Court there that no ordinary man was coming among them.

November.

The direct instructions which Walsingham carried over, were to express Elizabeth's satisfaction at the peace, and her hope that the toleration now promised to the Huguenots would be faithfully observed: should the war break out again, a general Protestant league would be the necessary consequence; the Queen of England would be compelled to take part in it, and all the force which she could command would be exerted

in the cause.[1] Beyond this simple message the new ambassador was left to his own discretion, to feel his way at the Court and report on what he found.

Mary Stuart and her cause created scarcely less embarrassment in Paris than in London. Lord Seton's mission to the Duke of Alva had excited the most violent displeasure. A revolution in England in Spanish interests was a catastrophe of which the very thought was unendurable, while a permanent league between England and Scotland, and the education of the Prince at the Court of Elizabeth, were almost equally distasteful. The Royal Family was divided. Anjou was restive and ambitious. He had distinguished himself in the war, he was discontented with his position as a subject, and he had liked well the adventurous prospect held out to him in England. At the instigation of the Cardinal of Lorraine, he thought of proposing directly for Mary Stuart's hand, and it was supposed that although she was binding herself by the most solemn engagements not to think of him, her promises would be no obstacle to her acceptance of his overtures.[2] Jealous of his brother's schemes, and afraid that with his popularity among the Catholics, Anjou as Mary Stuart's husband would be dangerous to himself, Charles said significantly

[1] Instructions to Walsingham, August 11: DIGGES's *Complete Ambassador*. Compare La Mothe, August 14.

[2] 'Tras esto se cierto que el Duque de Anjou ha de enviar un criado suyo á hablar con la dicha Reyna de Escocia, y saber si su voluntad seria de casarse con él. Podra ser que la Reyna no viniese mal en ello, pero á la mayor parte de los Ingleses por ahora no les aplace, ni á mi tan poco.'—Don Guerau to Philip, October 15: *MSS. Simancas.*

to Sir Henry Norris that if he were the Queen of England, and had the Queen of Scots in his hands, he knew what he would do with her.[1] A far different project for the Duke of Anjou, if the Duke could be brought to consent to it, was shaping itself in the minds of the Huguenot statesmen.

Elizabeth again and again, in conversations with La Mothe Fénelon, had reverted to her own marriage. She regretted to him that she had let so much time go by. She was afraid to face the Parliament which her necessities would soon oblige her to call, with her promises still unfulfilled, the succession still uncertain, and the means of settling it farther off than ever. Sir Henry Cobham had been sent to Maximilian to tempt the Archduke to renew his suit, but he had received a cold answer; the game at trifling at Vienna had been played out and lost.[2] Already however another proposal had been submitted to the Queen's consideration. The Visdame of Chartres and the Cardinal of Chatillon suggested that she should cut the knot of her difficulties, secure France, and snatch at least one dangerous lover from her rival by taking Anjou for herself. The Duke, it was true, was but twenty, while she was thirty-seven, but she might still hope for children, and the political advantages to the Protestant cause in Europe might compensate for greater incongruities. How Eliza-

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[1] 'Si je la tenois prisonnière, ou que je fusse en lieu de la Royne d'Angleterre, je sçais bien ce que je ferais.'—Norris to Cecil, October 29: *MSS. France.*

[2] La Mothe, October 30: *Dépêches*, vol. iii.

beth received the idea when first laid before her is not known. Five years previously she might have married Charles, but she had then revolted from the absurdity; she was now offered his younger brother; and it is only clear that her answer was not wholly unfavourable. A few weeks later Chatillon wrote to Anjou. Anjou spoke to his mother, and Catherine, taken it seemed by surprise, inquired at length of La Mothe the meaning of a movement so unexpected. Elizabeth, she said, had played with so many proposals, had encouraged suitor after suitor, and had abandoned them one after the other with so little scruple, that the very mention of her marriage now provoked a smile. The Royal Families of Europe did not like to be made ridiculous, and the Queen-mother did not conceal her belief that the present overture was but another trick to escape from a pressing embarrassment. But she had no objection to the English alliance. She had heard of Catherine Grey; she imagined that Lord Hertford was dead and that she was a widow. This lady she thought the Duke might very well marry, and Parliament would then perhaps entail the crown upon Lady Catherine and her son. She knew vaguely that Cecil was interested in the Grey family. She desired La Mothe to tell him that if he could bring about this alliance, he might secure the gratitude of France and his own continued supremacy in the direction of the policy of England.[1]

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[1] Catherine de Medici to La Mothe. October 20: *Dépêches*, vol. vii.

La Mothe was obliged to tell her that Catherine Grey was beyond the reach of diplomatic schemings; and meanwhile Elizabeth herself continued to allude to the subject of her own marriage. Her husband, she said, if ever she took a husband, should belong to one of the reigning families of Europe; and at last she directly mentioned the Duke to La Mothe as a person on whom her mind had been resting. La Mothe was still unable to believe her serious; he suspected, like the Queen-mother, that she was trying merely to separate France from the Queen of Scots or create jealousies between France and Spain. Two papers upon the subject however, written by Cecil in December and January, before the French Court had seriously entertained the proposal, survive to prove that he and probably his mistress had taken up the thought in earnest.

That the Queen, unless she married some one, would lose her throne, was assumed by Cecil as, humanly speaking, certain. If she let the age pass unimproved within which she could hope for children, 'she would be in danger of such as by devilish means might be tempted to desire her end.' 'If God in His goodness preserved her from murder, yet she would be in danger to lose daily the loyal duty and the love which was borne her by her subjects.' 'She could not live for ever.' 'Those who had possessions and families must necessarily foresee for the preservation of themselves and their children after their death.' They would determine in their own minds who must succeed her, and

to this person, 'at first secretly, and then in process of time more boldly, they would direct their devotions, and so have less regard of the continuance and preservation of her Majesty.' Conduct of this kind was to be looked for from loyal subjects, and besides these were the crowd of persons who already for one reason or another 'grudged and misliked the continuance of her Majesty's life, and were therefore ready always to assist in any innovation by practice, rebellion, or invasion.'

The Queen would thus become gradually conscious that she was disliked and neglected. She would have no one on whom she could rely, and 'finding no remedy to recover the affections of her people for lack of marriage and children, she would have a perpetual torment in life.'

'On the other hand, if she married, though she might have no children, there would long be the possibility of children. The people could still cling to the hope that the crown would remain in the line of King Henry VIII.,' 'and the curious and dangerous question of the succession would in the minds of quiet subjects be as it were buried—a happy funeral for all England.' Disloyal noblemen would cease to speculate on the Queen of Scots' marriage; discontented rebels and Papists would forbear to practise with foreign princes; and 'should God give to the realm the blessing of issue of the Queen's Majesty, the joy would be so great to good subjects and the grief so great to the evil, that her Majesty would see as it were a new life in the hearts

and bodies of her loyal people, and the evil and froward would put on the likeness of the good. Her Majesty would have no reason to fear the marriage of the Queen of Scots, as now she had great cause to do, nor any practice of troubles in the realm, nor any need of maintaining an armed watch upon adjoining kingdoms.'

December. Marriage then being thus infinitely desirable, whom should the Queen choose? Should she marry a foreign prince? Should she in fact marry the Duke of Anjou? The objections were to be noted first.

'The Duke was scarcely more than a boy, his character was unknown, and was perhaps unformed. He had appeared so far to be more a Catholic than a Protestant. Being a Frenchman he would be unwelcome to the English people, and the alliance would complete the estrangement with the House of Burgundy. If there were children, and if the King of France were to die, the two crowns would fall to one person; if there were none, the Duke with his brother's help might encroach upon the crown—by colour perhaps of gift from the Pope—or finally; if there were no children and the Queen of Scots remained unmarried, her Majesty's life might be prematurely shortened. Some insinuation might light into the heart of the Duke to attain the marriage of the Scottish Queen, whereby to continue in possession of the crown of England, and so conjoin the three kingdoms in his own person.'

This was the unfavourable aspect of the marriage, but the medal had a brilliant reverse.

The connection was princely and noble, and would draw together the 'two great realms of France and England.'

'The Queen would be delivered from the continual fear of the practices of the Queen of Scots, upon whom almost wholly depended the prosperity and adversity of her Majesty's whole life and reign.' 'The King of Spain would no more torture and imprison English subjects.' 'The Pope's malice, with his Bulls and excommunications, and the spite of all his dependants as well in England as abroad, would be suspended and vanish in smoke. Ireland would be no longer in daily peril of revolt.' The Duke would bring a handsome revenue with him from his duchies, and should he, as perhaps he might, 'accommodate himself to the religion of England,' the Reformed faith would be established in France and throughout Christendom, 'to the honour of the Queen and the augmentation of the glory of God.' In one form or another Calais would be recovered, and the expenses of the Government would be reduced on every side. In a word, the result to be expected from the marriage was a general return of security—security at home against revolutions, security against combinations among the foreign Powers. The Queen, of course, could not be pressed to accept the Duke 'till she had assured herself of the qualities of his person,' but Cecil so confidently anticipated her acquiescence that he recommended rather the suppression than the display of her feelings: 'So as the French King might be made more earnest in his suit,

and the conditions of the compact be thus made more beneficial to her Majesty and the realm.'[1]

A marriage with a princess so publicly and recently excommunicated would for some time at least decide the character of the relations between France and Rome. An open quarrel and a consequent increase of favour for the Huguenots appeared certain to follow; a war for the liberation of the Netherlands would come next; and when the French Government had once broken with the Catholics, there would be little danger of the darker possibilities which had suggested themselves.

Elizabeth at first diffidently, and afterwards with seeming frankness, talked about the marriage to La Mothe, and gradually Catherine de Medici shook off her suspicions and began to hope that Elizabeth was in earnest. Leicester took credit for self-sacrifice in withdrawing his own pretensions; and when the subject was to be seriously discussed, he himself introduced the ambassador to the Queen's private room at Hampton Court.

Elizabeth, whom La Mothe found better dressed than usual for the occasion,[2] at once broke the ice. She said that circumstances obliged her to overcome her reluctance to marry, and that she intended to select a husband from one of the reigning houses. La Mothe,

[1] Commodities that may follow from the marriage with the Duke of Anjou, December, 1570. Notes on the Queen's marriage, January 14, 1571: *MSS.* in Cecil's hand, abridged. *France, Rolls House.*

[2] 'Où je la trouvay mieulx parée que de coustume.'—La Mothe to the Queen-mother, December 29.

who knew what was expected of him, replied that if this was her resolution, he commended to her the pretensions of one of the most accomplished princes in the world. Could he be the means of bringing about a union between her Majesty and the Duke of Anjou, he would esteem himself the happiest of men.

The Duke, the Queen answered, was indeed worthy of far higher honours than she could offer him. She feared however that his affections must have been already centered in some fairer quarter. She was herself an old woman, and but for the hope of children would be ashamed to think of marriage; and if the Duke accepted her she supposed it would be rather for her realm than her person. French princes had a bad name for conjugal fidelity. She spoke of Madame d'Estampes and the Duchesse de Valentinois, and she said she would not like to find herself the wife of a man who might respect her as a Queen but would not love her as a woman.

La Mothe swore that she would find the Duke all that was most devoted and all that was most deserving of devotion.[1] He reminded her that when she was once married she would find all her troubles disappear, and he partly—but partly only—succeeded in removing her uneasiness. She said she would rather die than feel herself unloved.

She was perhaps, however, following Cecil's advice, and concealing her own eagerness. The two Courts

[1] 'Il avoit cette péculière qu'il sçavoit extrêmement bien aymer, et se rendre de mesmes parfaitement aymable.'—La Mothe, January 23.

were coquetting with each other, each at heart most anxious, and each afraid of losing the prize by grasping at it too precipitately.

'The Queen of England,' reported La Mothe, 'is one of those who will fly when they are sought after. It is a peculiarity of the English nation, who the more you desire anything of them the more coy they become, though what you ask is to their own advantage.'[1]

1571. January. Till the middle of January the negotiation was kept a profound secret, Leicester and Cecil alone sharing the Queen's confidence. The preliminary stages however being got over, and the goodwill ascertained on both sides, an indirect proposal was made by Charles which it became necessary to submit to the council.

No stronger proof could have been given of the desirableness of the marriage than the dismay with which the mention of it was received. On Arundel and Arundel's friends, on the party of the Duke of Norfolk and the Queen of Scots, on the adherents of the House of Burgundy, and the intriguers for a Catholic revolution, it fell like a thunderstroke. La Mothe argued and reasoned, but to no purpose. If such a marriage as this could be brought about in the teeth of the excommunication, the cause of the Catholic Church, the Church of the Council of Trent, the Church of fanaticism, the Church of Alva and Philip and the Cardinal of Lorraine, would be lost for ever. Scene

[1] La Mothe, January 23.

after scene followed of violence and passion. The extreme Protestants suspected Anjou for his antecedents. The English traditionary prejudices were set on fire.[1] At length Elizabeth summoned all her ministers into her presence, and said with tears in her eyes, that they and only they were to blame for the breaking off her marriage with the Archduke Charles. It was they who had caused her to offend the King of Spain. It was they who had made the troubles in Scotland, and but for her own prudence they would have involved her equally in a quarrel with France. Now at this supreme crisis of her life, she implored them not to fail her. A marriage with the Duke of Anjou would open a road out of all her perplexities, and those who set themselves against it, she said, were bad subjects and enemies of the realm.[2]

With the discussions at the council the world was of course taken into the secret, and the agitation in France was as violent as in England. The Cardinal of Lorraine revived the scandals about Elizabeth's intimacy

[1] La Mothe, February 6.

[2] 'Entendant les diverses opinions que ceulx de son conseil avoient là dessus, elle les avoit assemblée pour leur dire, la larme à l'œil, que si nul mal venoit à elle, à sa couronne et à ses subjectz pour n'avoir espousé l'Archiduc Charles, il debvoit estre imputé à eulx et non à elle; qui aussi estoient cause que le Roy d'Espaigne avoit esté offencé, et que le Royaulme d'Escoce estoit en armes contre le sien, et qu'il n'avoit tenu aussi à eulx que le Roy n'eust esté beaucoup provoqué davantaige par leurs déportements en faveur de ceulx de la Rochelle, si elle ne les eust empeschez; dont les prioit très toutz de luy ayder maintenant à rabiller toutz les maulx par ung seul moyen, qui estoit de bien conduire ce party de Monsieur, et qu'elle tiendroit pour mauvais subject et ennemy de ce royaulme et très déloyal à son service qui aulcunement le luy traverseroit. —La Mothe, February 6, 1571.

with Leicester, and frightened Anjou into believing that he was about to bestow himself upon a woman of infamous character. Anjou went open-mouthed to his mother, and Catherine at first could do nothing with him; 'she would have given all the blood in her body,' she said, 'to draw the matter out of his head,' but he was obstinate and talked about dishonour; and Catherine, in despair at the thought of losing her prize, asked La Mothe whether Elizabeth would not take the Duke of Alençon instead. Alençon was but sixteen and was amenable to control.[1]

But this cloud passed off. La Mothe was able to assure the Queen-mother that the stories were baseless scandals. The Court was so pure, and the Queen herself was so much respected by all classes of her subjects, that it was impossible to believe that she had misconducted herself.[2] The Pope indeed had lent his infallibility to the imputation, and the Catholics, to their no great credit, made Elizabeth's frailty an article of their creed; but the intelligence of men of the world, who were on the spot and could make inquiries, was not so piously credulous, and Anjou in a few weeks became as eager for the marriage as Catherine herself. A cam-

[1] The Queen-mother to La Mothe, February 2: *Dépêches*, vol. vii. This singular letter was written by Catherine herself, the subject of it being of too much consequence to be trusted to the most confidential secretary.

[2] 'De tant qu'en sa court l'on ne voyt qu'ung bon ordre, et elle y estre bien fort honorée et ententive en ses affaires, et que les plus grands de son royaulme et toutz ses subjectz la craignent et revèrent, et elle ordonne d'eulx et sur eulx avec pleyne authorité, j'ay estimé que cela ne pouvoit procéder de personne mal famée, et où il n'y eust de la vertu.'—La Mothe, March 6.

paign in Belgium would give full scope to his military ambition; it would employ the swarm of soldiers whom the peace had let loose, and the success would be as certain as it would be easy. The Prince of Orange and the Germans would invade Holland. Elizabeth's fleet would seal the Channel against reinforcements from Spain, and the Royal Family of France would be revenged for the death of their sister, whom they believed, though without a shadow of foundation, that Philip had murdered.[1]

Such was the programme which had grown up in Paris in connection with the English marriage, and Catherine was only anxious to see the work commenced by driving Alva into the sea. The Nuncio suggested to Anjou 'that if England was the mark he shot at it might be achieved easily by the sword, to his great honour and with less inconvenience than making so unfit a match.'[2] But Anjou's thoughts had gone off into another channel and could not for the moment be brought back. One misgiving only continued to haunt the Queen-mother, that Elizabeth was trifling after all, that she would bring the Duke to the steps of the altar and then make him the laughing-stock of Europe. Guido Cavalcanti, for many years the unofficial minister of goodwill between the two Courts, February.

[1] There is not the slightest doubt of the existence of this conviction both in Charles and his brother. That it could gain credence at all is a proof how intense the national animosity against Spain continued to be.—See the Despatches of Sir Henry Norris, 1570, 1571, passim: *MSS. France, Rolls House.*

[2] Walsingham to Cecil, February 8: *Complete Ambassador.*

was again called into requisition. The Queen-mother sent for him to her bedroom and cross-questioned him, first about the truth of the Leicester scandals, and then as to what he thought of Elizabeth's present sincerity.

On the first point Cavalcanti answered that truth was the daughter of time. Elizabeth had been fourteen years on the throne; the hundred eyes of Argus had been fixed upon her, and nothing had been observed to justify 'the false, slanderous, and envious bruits which had been spread to her dishonour; there was not in the whole world a more noble, virtuous, or better-natured princess.' About the marriage he said that he had every reason, public and private, to believe that she was in earnest, and unless difficulties were made by France the Duke might be in England before midsummer; but he suggested that Lord Buckhurst, her cousin, was in Paris, and could give her the fullest information.

Buckhurst, who had finished the business which brought him over,[1] was on the point of returning to England. The Queen-mother invited him before his departure to look over with her the gardens which she was laying out at the Tuileries, and there drawing him apart under the trees, she said that he could not be ignorant of the contemplated match; both she and the King, she told him, 'were fearfully carried with mistrust

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[1] Sir Thomas Sackville, first Lord Buckhurst, was grandson of John Sackville and Margaret Boleyn, sister of the Earl of Wiltshire, the father of Anne. Buckhurst had been sent to Paris to congratulate Charles IX. on his marriage.

that all was but abuse and dalliance,' and Buckhurst would oblige her deeply if he would tell her the truth.

Buckhurst answered that as she had spoken freely to him he would meet her with equal openness. The Queen his mistress desired, above all things in the world, that France and England should be drawn together. As to the marriage, she had anticipated that some such question might be asked him, and she had directed him to say, 'that for the benefit of her realm and contentation of her people she had finally and fully resolved to marry, and to match with the progeny of a prince out of her own realm.'

'Could she be sure of this,' the Queen-mother answered, 'and if it was meant indeed and not only in words, France and England might be the two most fortunate kingdoms in the world;' the honour of the French Crown would be hurt if Elizabeth was insincere, but she would believe it was not so; and she went on to ask whether she might entertain hopes for her son.

'His commission,' Buckhurst replied, did not allow him to answer this question, but 'the Duke being so worthy a prince,' and the benefits to be expected from such an alliance, to both the realms, being so evident, he thought, as a private individual, that if an ambassador was sent over to propose in proper form, he might be sure of a favourable reception. There was no occasion however for the Duke 'to hazard his honour;' he would himself report the Queen-mother's words on his return, and he would inform her on all points,

March.

before she committed herself further.[1] Anjou was young, supposed to be brave, and not without ability. Walsingham was decidedly in favour of the marriage. Cecil, though fully conscious of the objections, thought them far out-balanced by the advantages; and so many dangers threatened Elizabeth, that something might well be risked to extricate her. He drew a sketch of the conditions under which he considered that Anjou might be received. On the point on which the negotiations with the Archduke had broken down he was particularly yielding. 'The Archduke had been required to conform to the Anglican communion. Anjou would do enough if he would accompany the Queen to the Royal Chapel, and would promise, neither directly nor indirectly, 'to attempt the alteration of the laws established' in the constitution of the Church. The Liturgy might be modified to make it palatable to him. The prayers could be said in Latin, and the lessons read in Latin.' 'Should there be any manner of prayer or other thing in the book of the Divine Service of England that was not contained in Holy Scripture, nor used in the service of the Church of France, or if in the administration of the sacraments there were things different from the usage of the Church of France, neither the Duke nor his servants need use the same otherwise than as their conscience should persuade.' Still further, it might be hoped that in time the Duke would conform wholly to the religion of his adopted country, but until he was persuaded to accept it with good will,

[1] Lord Buckhurst to Elizabeth, March 16: *MSS. France.*

Cecil thought that he might share the privilege of the ambassadors of the Catholic Powers, and have a service of his own in a room in the Palace.'[1]

These proposals were submitted privately to the French council, and contained everything which they could reasonably demand. The French, in return, were ready to promise that the Established religion should not be tampered with. The marriage ceremony it was thought might be performed in the English form; some prominent members of the French Government, ecclesiastics as well as laymen, could be present as witnesses, and a special contract to be provided for the occasion would prevent a question from being afterwards raised as to the validity of the rite.[2]

The interests of Protestantism would have been more than answered by these mutual concessions, and Walsingham was most anxious that they should be confirmed and accepted by the principal parties. The Queen-mother, he wrote, intended to provide for her son in Scotland if not in England; and, 'of all impending perils that would be the greatest.'[3] Leicester, ready to restore Catholicism, ready to devote himself to Philip, to Catherine, to Norfolk, to the Queen of Scots, to the Puritans, to any and every one in turn, as seemed to suit his interests, professed to be particularly anxious

[1] 'Reasonable demands to be required of Monsieur for the preservation of the religion of England in credit, and the Protestants thereof in comfort, March, 1571.' In Cecil's hand: *MSS. France.*

[2] 'Qui res omnes ibidem gestas in acta secundum formam juris redigere valeant.'—Marriage Articles proposed by France: *MSS.* Ibid.

[3] Walsingham to Leicester, March 9: *Complete Ambassador.*

that this time the negotiation should be successful. Cecil made up his mind to the Duke's conversion, and saw him in imagination becoming 'a professor of the Gospel;' 'a noble conqueror of all Popery in Christendom;' while Walsingham, too eager to doubt that the marriage would be brought about, was busy knitting the political combinations which were to follow, and forming plans for the conquest of the Low Countries.[1]

The marriage project meanwhile, in its incipient stages, had not affected the diplomatic interference of France in behalf of the Queen of Scots. Charles continued to declare, that unless his sister-in-law was released he would have to take up her cause in earnest. M. de Virac remained at Dumbarton with the Hamiltons. La Mothe still pressed upon Elizabeth, and Elizabeth declared that she still intended to keep her promise. Notwithstanding the protest of the Regent, the English council resolved itself into a commission for a final settlement. The Bishop of Galloway and Lord Livingston came up from Chatsworth.[2] They were well received by Elizabeth, and a suspension of hostilities was proclaimed in Scotland till the 1st of April, by which time it was expected that all would be arranged. The proceedings waited only for the appearance of the representatives of the Regent; and the delay gave opportunities for informal discussions and endless intrigues. Maitland's letters were deciphered and read by Cecil. La Mothe objected to the education of the

January.

[1] Cecil to Walsingham, March 25; Walsingham to Cecil, April 5: *Complete Ambassador.*

[2] January 14.

Prince in England. The threatened occupation of Scotch castles by English garrisons was equally intolerable to him; and Livingston intimated that it was preposterous to expect Scotch noblemen to reside at Elizabeth's Court as hostages. Mary Stuart herself said, that without some equivalent she would not relinquish the French alliance and forfeit her dowry; while again, new features of the Queen of Scots' misdemeanours in England were coming perpetually to light. The Bishop of Ross was pointedly told that his mistress should think less of marrying Don John of Austria. The Bishop, in turn, informed La Mothe that if the King of France would allow the Queen of Scots four thousand crowns a month, her friends would reduce Scotland in half-a-year, and Charles answered that he would consent, if the treaty came to nothing.[1] February.

But the interference of France was contingent on the failure of the negotiation for Anjou. Elizabeth knew it, and her intentions towards her prisoner varied with her disposition towards matrimony. Her marriage, when once completed, would remove the political objections to the restoration; while, if she backed out of it, the resentment of France at her trifling would enhance the danger a hundredfold.

At length Lennox consented to put in his appearance; the Earl of Morton arrived for the young King, and the way toward a conclusion seemed to be opened. But Morton had not come to London with any such

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[1] The King of France to La Mothe, February 19: *Dépêches*, vol. vii.

intentions. The Commission held its first sitting on the 24th of February. The Earl, instead of consenting to consider the details of the treaty, presented a passionate remonstrance, expressing only with increased vehemence the objections which had been before conveyed through the Abbot of Dumfermline. It was the old story, but it could not be too often repeated. When Morton ceased, Bacon rose to support him. 'If the Queen of Scots was restored,' said the Lord Keeper, 'in three months she would kindle a fire which would wrap the island in flames, and which the power of man would fail to extinguish. If Elizabeth would recognize the Prince and support the Regent, all Scotland would instantly be at her devotion, and with Scotland hers she might defy the malice of the world. His mistress,' he said, 'believed herself bound by promises to the Queen of Scots; but neither the Queen of Scots nor her friends were prepared to fulfil the conditions under which alone the restoration could be contemplated. Without material securities it was not to be thought of, and securities adequate to the risk did not exist. To send Mary Stuart back to Scotland would alienate every friend which England possessed there; and as to the grave question so often raised of the rights of subjects and sovereigns, the Queen of England had no concern with the titles of the princes with whom she treated. If treaties could not be made till the right of every prince to his crown was first ascertained, the world would fall in pieces. It was enough

that a king was a king, and the fewer questions asked the better.'[1]

March. Elizabeth answered gloomily that if there was danger in restoring the Queen of Scots, there was greater danger in detaining her. The Commission was not sitting to decide what was already determined, but to consider the conditions on which the venture might be made. The Bishop of Ross, in Mary Stuart's name, entreated that there might be no further delay: she was ready, he said, to make every concession that might be thought necessary. The hostages should be forthcoming and the Prince should be given up.

La Mothe supported the Bishop, the general question was assumed to be settled, and the business went forward. The next step was the presentation of a petition by the Bishop of Ross, requiring that the abdication made at Lochleven should be declared invalid. Morton said fiercely that the grounds on which the Queen had been deposed had been already examined into, and were sufficiently well known. The Bishop replied, that subjects, whatever their complaints, had no rights over their princes. The tribunal to which a Queen Regnant was amenable, he argued, was a council of sovereigns, who alone could take cognizance of such a cause;[2] and

[1] La Mothe, March 4, 1571. Short answers to four principal points, February 24. In Bacon's hand: *MSS* MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

[2] La Mothe, March 12. The Bishop supported his position in a written memorial with his old and favourite illustration.

Except in special cases, such as

he appealed with effect to Bishop Jewel, who had limited Christians 'to prayers and tears' when their princes tyrannized over them.

The fine talk did not affect Morton. He, with his life and fortune at stake, fell back upon the facts. The government of Scotland, he said, was established in the person of the young King. The change of the son for the mother had been made for adequate reasons; and if the Queen of England forsook him, they could themselves find means to support him and to force submission on the disobedient.

Remembering the complaints and entreaties for assistance with which she had so long been besieged, Elizabeth fired up at these last words, which, if they

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Jehu's, which were not to be taken as examples, he said that Scripture always enjoined obedience to the Sovereign, even though 'he might be a terrible tyrant.' 'David himself, whom God always called a man after God's own heart, committed both murder and adultery, and yet his subjects, the Jews, rose not against him. But God not only continued his estate but also his son Solomon, gotten upon Bathsheba, enjoyed his chair and sceptre after him.' 'When God,' he continued, 'was minded to trouble the Kings of Judah for their sins, he punished them, not by the Jews, but by the Babylonians and Assyrians. He punished Saul, not by David, but by the Philistines.' 'So it was in the time of shadows.' 'In the time of grace and truth' the rule was made more clear. 'Nero was an impure beast,' yet God nevertheless declared that he was to be obeyed, not only for fear of vengeance, but also for conscience' sake. No one had condemned more distinctly 'all wicked detestable rebels that went about under colour of rebellion to banish their natural Sovereign,' than Bishop Jewel. Bishop Jewel had proved that whatever the crime of the Sovereign, the arms of the Christian 'were but prayers and tears;' and Peter Martyr had said that 'if it were lawful for the people to put down their princes that reigned unjustly, no prince should at any time be in safety.'—Memorial presented by the Bishop of Ross, March 4: *MSS. Scotland.*

meant anything, meant a revolt to France. 'That language,' she said when it was reported to her, 'the Earl of Morton never brought with him from Scotland; it was put in his mouth by some of my own council, and they ought to be hanged outside the doors, with the words hung about their necks.' [1]

Yet with Elizabeth also there were facts which were highly pressing. She had brought the Anjou complication upon herself, and she must either marry him or else affront him and turn him over with more certainty than ever to the Queen of Scots. The dispensation was promised by the Pope, and the Duke was supposed to have no objection to the change.[2]

In such a situation the wisdom of one moment became the folly of the next. Anger and vexation would not answer arguments or remove dangers, and with Leicester for ever whispering at her ear, she swung to and fro, now determining to restore the Queen of Scots, now to marry Anjou, now to go with Bacon and Cecil, now with Arundel and Norfolk.

Morton at last brought matters to a crisis by de-

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[1] 'Elle a dict qu'elle sçavoit que ledict Morton ne l'avoit aportée telle de son pays, ains l'avoit aprinse icy d'aulcuns de ceulx mesmes du conseil, lesquelz elle vouloit bien dire qu'ilz estoient dignes d'estre penduz à la porte du chasteau avec un rollet de leur advis au coul.'—La Mothe, March 12.

[2] So La Mothe says that Walsingham wrote from Paris. 'Le Sieur Walsingham a escript qu'il a descouvert ung propos qui se mêne bien chauldement pour maryer Monsieur le frere de vostre Majesté avec la Royne d'Escoce et que le Pape luy promect la dispence et beaucoup d'avantaiges au monde en faveur dudict marriage, et que les choses en sont si avant que mon dict Seigneur promect d'y entendre aussitost que par ce tretté ladicte Dame sera restituée en son estat.'—Ibid.

claring that whatever might be the Queen's pleasure, he had not brought powers with him to agree to the restoration. If she meant to persist, he must return to Scotland and consult the Estates. The English Parliament was about to meet. Elizabeth accepted Morton's excuses, and further discussion was prorogued indefinitely. She directed Lord Shrewsbury to pacify the Queen of Scots by assuring her that the settlement of her affairs was only postponed. The answer was not likely to be satisfactory, and she therefore told the Earl that he must 'take good heed to his charge;' 'being discontented, she would leave no means unsought to attempt her escape.'[1] For the time, at any rate, the Anjou negotiation would ensure the acquiescence of the Court of France, and if Elizabeth could but resolve to marry the Duke, she might count upon their permanent indifference. It was enough that she was safe for the moment, and if time brought new complications, it might bring the remedy along with them.

That Mary Stuart would not sit down patiently under her disappointment, no particular wisdom was required to foresee; but Elizabeth scarcely even yet comprehended the energy of the person with whom she had to deal. The Queen of Scots had long anticipated that the treaty would end in nothing. She knew that Cecil was not a fool, and she must have soon been undeceived in her hope that she had gained him over. She believed Elizabeth to be as false as she knew herself to be, and

[1] Elizabeth to the Earl of Shrewsbury, March 24: *MSS. Hatfield.*

before the Conference opened she had written to the Archbishop of Glasgow to bid him stir the King of France in her favour.[1] A few weeks before, Anjou had all but proposed for her hand. The French Court still professed the most ardent desire to help her, and La Mothe appeared to be working heartily with the Bishop of Ross. Suddenly, with overwhelming surprise, she learnt that her false lover was going over to the English Queen; that a marriage between them was seriously contemplated, and that the fault would not be with Charles or Catherine if Anjou did not soon become the husband of Elizabeth. She perhaps might be kept in hand as a reserve card, if the other game was a failure; but her proud blood boiled at the indignity. That so detestable an alternative could be even contemplated by the French Court, at once convinced her that it was idle to hope that the Queen-mother would really move for her. She had been hitherto embarrassed by the jealousies of the Great Powers. They would not act for her together, and if she threw herself upon one, she would offend the other. This difficulty was now at an end. Her hope, if hope she had, was in Spain and in the Pope. To them the ill-omened union between Huguenot France and Protestant England would be as unwelcome as to herself; and, in his own defence, Philip would take up her cause at last.

Stung to fury by this unlooked-for blow, she watched with impatience the lingering of the treaty, which now

[1] Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow, January 1: LABANOFF, vol. iii.

she could scarcely wish to succeed. She at least had no expectation that Anjou would come back to her if she were free. Her friends in Scotland had looked to France to unloose the meshes of the obligations into which they were about to enter, and France, false, traitorous France, would only draw the cords tighter, and leave her a slave in Elizabeth's hands.

Alva caught the alarm like herself. He too had satisfied himself that peace in France meant war in the Netherlands. He had advised Mary Stuart in the autumn to consent to the treaty, but when he heard of the intended match, he felt that it would but throw her again into the hands of her rebel subjects, and that the chances of a Catholic revolution would be farther off than ever. She was recommended to attempt an escape, and if she could succeed, to make her way into Spain, where she could either marry Don John, or wait for Norfolk to declare himself a Catholic.[1]

Yet she was disturbed with seeing that Alva also seemed anxious to compound his quarrels with Elizabeth. The existing Government of England was a reality to which the Duke attached more importance than the Catholic refugees desired. The ease with which the Northern rebellion had been put down, weighed more with him than tabulated statistics on the numerical strength of the disaffected. The unflinching determination with which the Queen maintained the privateers seemed to prove that she was confident of her resources. He

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[1] Mary Stuart to the Bishop of Ross, February 8: LABANOFF, vol. iii.

was alarmed with rumours that a descent would be soon attempted, under the direction of Count Louis, on the islands at the mouth of the Scheldt;[1] and although insult was accumulated on insult, and injury on injury, he felt himself compelled to smother his resentment, and endeavour, by smooth words and humiliating concessions, to prevent this fresh addition to his embarrassments. His best chance of escaping a war with France was to reconcile himself with England. He understood Elizabeth's character well enough to know that she would never marry the Duke of Anjou if she could help it; but he believed also that she might be driven to it if pressed to extremities; and, that the alliance between England and France thus cemented, would be followed by the serious movement against Spain, for which the Huguenot chiefs were longing, and which Walsingham so enthusiastically anticipated.

Notwithstanding Chapin's failure therefore the Duke of Alva continued his pacific advances. A third time he sent over a commissioner; not a soldier like the Marquis of Cetona, but a member of the Flemish Council, Count Schwegenhem. The open object was the

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[1] 'Aqui tratan de molestar los Payses Baxos, creyendo por esta via escusar la molestia en sus Islas y aguardan aqui al Conde Ludovico de Nassau. Aperciben con tanta artilleria las naves destos Piratas Flamencas y Inglesas que es maravilla, y la Reyna les ha ofrecido cien picças, y las cuarenta cargan ya en barcos para llegar á la Isla da Huict, donde M. de la Mark se llama Al mirante del Principe de Orange.'—Don Guerau to Philip, October 28, 1570: *MSS. Simancas.*

This passage is underlined by Philip himself, and on the margin is one of his characteristic exclamations of distress, Ojo! He might fairly think that he had not deserved this treatment at Elizabeth's hands.

restitution of prizes and the re-opening of trade; the private object was to separate Elizabeth from the French; and Alva, to tempt her, made certain secret offers, the nature of which Elizabeth did not care to reveal, but it was something, she said, which would not a little have amazed La Mothe.[1] Count Schwegenhem however went the way of his predecessors. The details of his public proposals were quarrelled over. The cargoes of the detained ships had been sold on both sides. The Duke had taken advantage of a rise of prices in the Flanders markets, caused by the suspension of trade, to dispose of some English wool at a large profit. Elizabeth demanded the full sum which had been realized. The Duke allowed only the value set upon the wool at the time of its shipment. The petty disagreement was made an excuse to suspend the negotiations; Count Schwegenhem was bowed out of the country; and the Queen repeated what she had said to Chapin, that she would treat directly with the Duke's master. It seemed as if she believed that Philip's forbearance was inexhaustible. She knew, or Cecil knew, that it was to him that the highest Catholics looked for assistance, and she wished to force them to recognize the idleness of their expectations. It was a game which might be tried too far; yet, for the present it seemed to answer. Philip still did not rouse himself. Alava talked to Walsingham at Paris of the desirableness of a

[1] 'She told me,' La Mothe wrote, 'que je serois tous esbahy si je sçavois quelles choses ledict Duc despuys ung mois avoit voulu traiter avec elle au prejudice de ses voysins.' —La Mothe, January 23.

revival of the old alliance.[1] Don Guerau was obliged to apologize for Count Schwegenhem's failure, as if the cause of it had rested with the Commissioner; and Leicester, as a new year's gift, presented Elizabeth with a group of figures wrought in gold, in which she was herself represented on a throne with the Queen of Scots in chains at her feet; France and Spain were being overwhelmed in the waves of the ocean, and Neptune, with the globe in his hand, was paying homage to the English Sovereign.[2]

Extravagant, or at least premature—yet, amidst the suspicions and jealousies of the Continental Powers, the actual position of England was scarcely exaggerated; and the absurd spectacle was presented to the world of an excommunicated princess balancing herself so critically that it was supposed a push would overthrow her,[3] yet treating Spain with disdain, holding as a prisoner the Queen Dowager of France, making her country an asylum from which the refugees of the whole of Europe levied war upon their respective sovereigns, and all this time with these very sovereigns suing for her favour, and able to dictate the terms on which she would receive them again as her friends.

But there was one Potentate who was not disposed to sit down meekly in so disgraceful a situation. It was not to see them thrust aside like dishonoured bills,

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[1] Walsingham to Cecil, March 5: *Complete Ambassador.*

[2] Don Guerau to Cayas, January 9: *MSS. Simancas.*

[3] 'Tiene su sceptro tan sobre palillos que cualquiera pequeña fuerça le derribaria.'—Ibid.

that Pope Pius had directed the censures of the Church against Elizabeth; and after all allowances for the secularity of temporal governments, he could ill brook and he could hardly comprehend this contemptuous disregard with which the sentence of the Holy See had been received. Spain was as much interested as Rome in the reconversion of England. He had lectured Philip on his duties, but his admonitions had been as vain as his entreaties. The Catholic King listened, acquiesced, and did nothing; and the Pope perceived at last, that unless he could himself throw further weight into the scale, the Island of Saints might remain heretic till the day of judgment.

Don Juan de Cuniga, the Spanish resident at the Holy See, waited upon Pius at the end of January, with a message from his master, conveyed in the usual tone. The King, he said, was grieved to the soul at the behaviour of the Queen of England; he was most anxious to effect a change there; and his Holiness might feel entire confidence that no opportunity would be passed over.

The King of Spain had sung the same song for twelve years, and no better opportunity would be likely to occur than one at least which had been allowed to escape. The Pope replied to Don Juan, that the English Catholics had heavy grounds of complaint against the Christian Powers. Not only they had received no assistance from them, but his own Bull had been suppressed in France, and never been published in Spain or Flanders; the Queen was encouraged by the respect

which was paid her to persist in her disobedience; she had already been the principal mover of all the continental disturbances, and she would go on as she had begun as long as she remained on the throne.

Don Juan attempted excuses, but the Pope cut him short. It was positively necessary to do something, he said, and if the King of Spain would lend assistance in deposing Elizabeth, and could place some English Catholic nobleman on the throne in her place,[1] he believed that he could secure the consent and co-operation of the French.

The French, Don Juan replied, had been unable, or, to speak more truly, had not been willing, to root out heresy from among themselves. It was not likely that they would undertake the reduction of England. They would make fair promises, entangle his master in a war with the Queen, and then declare in her favour.[2]

If this was so, the Pope said, the King of Spain might at least recall his ambassador, and prevent intercourse between his subjects and the English.

Don Juan could merely indicate that this would be to break prematurely with Elizabeth, and would do more harm than good.[3]

Nothing can show more clearly than this conversation the intense unwillingness of Philip to have an English quarrel forced upon him. Don Juan closed

[1] 'Un Rey Catolico natural del mismo Reyno.' Not the Queen of Scots therefore.

[2] 'Prometerian grandes cosas para hacer declarar á su Santidad y á V. Mag^d contra la Reyna y despues se juntarian con ella.'

[3] Don Juan de Cuniga á su Mag^d, January 27: *MSS. Simancas.*

the despatch in which he described what had passed with saying, that if the Pope showed any intention of interfering actively he would find means to prevent him.

But Philip was no longer to be left with his head run ostrich-like into the sand; a parallel effort to move him was made simultaneously, through the Duchess of Feria, by the Bishop of Ross, who sent over to Spain, evidently for Philip's perusal, a long and curious account of his mistress' positions and prospects. 'The life of the Queen of Scots,' the Bishop said, 'had been in great danger; Bacon, Bedford, and Cecil had urged the Queen to put her to death; and, of all the ministers whom Elizabeth admitted to her confidence, Leicester only had opposed her execution. A revolution in her favour might have been effected with ease, if the King of Spain would have raised a finger; but the King of Spain had given no sign, all application to him for help had been so far received with coldness, and the Queen of Scots was now driven to entertain the question of a treaty. But the conditions offered to her were so intolerable, that she would not accept them till she was assured for the last time that she had nothing to hope for. She would rather die than be the cause of the continued oppression of the Catholics; her party was falling to pieces, and unless the King helped her, she might consent to things which would cause her endless remorse and do fatal injury to the Christian faith. If the persecutions continued, the spirit of the Catholics would be broken, and a revolution would then be impossible. Lord Seton had been three months at Brussels trying

to prevail on Alva, but he might as well have pleaded with the dead. The Spaniard, it seemed, depended for his information about the state of England on the reports of a few miserable wretches without faith and honesty.[1] Harbours, towns, supplies, the nobles of Scotland and England to assist the enterprise—all had been offered, and all in vain; and unless the Queen of Scots was shortly relieved, she would either have to give up the Prince and marry some one that the Queen of England would choose for her, or without doubt she would be secretly made away with.

'The Catholic King perhaps thought the Queen of Scots a person of no importance, but he should remember that to her God had given by right the sovereignty of the Island of Britain. Her hand so dowered was not to be despised. A marriage had been spoken of for her with the Duke of Anjou or the Duke of Norfolk, but she was still free and at the King of Spain's disposition if only he would take her under his protection.

'The submission of the Duke of Alva to the Queen of England's insolence was worse than humiliating. He had yielded to all her demands, and she would do nothing in return which he desired. The Catholics could only suppose that he was influenced by some paltry pique or jealousy. The Duke of Feria had been spoken of as likely to supersede him in the Low Countries.

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[1] 'Ellos entretanto se contentan mas, como se vee, de tomar informacion y noticia destas cosas de algunos baxos hombrecillos, de quien con razon se puede tener sospecha assi de su religion como de su sinceridad y bondad.'

The Duchess was an English woman. The refugees were thought to belong to the Feria faction, and therefore Alva hated them. Every heretic spy found more favour in his eyes than they did.

'Finally and especially, the consciences of all Christians were shocked at the indifference which the King of Spain had displayed to the sentence of excommunication. It was treated as if it had no existence. The Catholics everywhere were lost in astonishment, and could but remember with fear the words of the Gospel, 'woe to that man by whom the offence cometh.'

'The Christian faith was decaying. A princess gifted with the most exquisite graces of mind and person was sinking under the accumulated weight of ill-usage and undeserved infamy; the Catholic King himself, the pillar of the faith, was allowing his honour and reputation to be discredited in the world by the wrongs to which he was submitting at the hands of a bad woman.

'Would it then be of service,' the Bishop asked, 'if he was himself to repair to Spain and lay the truth before his Majesty? To reform England and to extinguish the faction of the King in Scotland were one and the same thing; and both were so necessary, that as long as they remained undone heresy would scarcely be extinguished in the Low Countries. The English Catholics had placed their whole confidence in the King; the Holy See implored him to act; God himself had marked him out for the work by the power which he had trusted in his hands. If he would not declare

himself openly, he might allow his subjects to volunteer for service in Ireland and Scotland, nor could any just reason be given for his refusal to allow the Bull to be published in his dominions, or for the scandal of the continual residence of his ambassador at the English Court. The heretics boasted that the King of Spain feared the enmity of their sovereign and dared not quarrel with her.'[1]

There was nothing in this letter which Philip must not have said often to himself; but the times were growing urgent. His resolution began to fail under the importunities of the Catholic world, and the Pope soon after had an opportunity of assailing him in more regular form.

Mary Stuart was evidently one difficulty. Even the Pope would have preferred some nobleman of unblemished character as the champion of Christ's Church, could any one have been found whom the English Catholics could agree to recognize. This however could not be. It was necessary to make the best of the Queen of Scots, and to rouse Philip out of his slumbers in her favour. From his agent Ridolfi, Pius was incessantly hearing of the number and zeal of his English friends, of Elizabeth's cruelty and their abundant ability to help themselves. Ridolfi declared that all the Peers except four or five were openly or secretly disaffected. The Pope said that he had never heard of a country where the will of the united nobility

[1] MS. Simancas, endorsed, 'El Obispo de Ross.' The letter is very long, and I have been obliged to condense it.

was not irresistible, and he told Ridolfi that if he could bring over some bond or engagement on the part of the Lords, in which they would pledge themselves to a general insurrection, he would be able to lay the case before Philip in a form which could be no longer disregarded.

The moment was peculiarly favourable. Ridolfi must have been a man of no ordinary ability, for he had entirely deceived the English Government as to his real character. His name had appeared in connection with the Northern Earls, but his professed occupation as a banker enabled him to explain every suspicious circumstance. He admitted without hesitation that the Earls had borrowed money of him, but there was no evidence that he was aware of the purpose for which they wanted it, and he had come so well out of the inquiry that after Count Schwegenhem's departure, Walsingham recommended him to Cecil as a person who might be trusted to talk over with Philip the conditions of a possible arrangement.

An opportunity was thus created to Ridolfi's hand to repair unsuspected to the very countries where he wished to go, and to the persons with whom he wished to communicate. His ostensible business would lay with Alva and the King of Spain, and the disputed question of the ownership of the money originally seized would necessarily take him to Italy.

So far nothing could be more fortunate. But if a larger movement was now to be attempted in England, the character and object of it had to be clearly de-

termined. Divided counsels had spoilt the first rising, and before Philip would think of moving he would insist on seeing his way before him. Was Elizabeth to be deposed at once? or was she to be allowed to reign for the term of her life, with a Catholic council at the head of the Government and the Queen of Scots for successor? Who was to be the Queen of Scots' husband? was it to be Don John, as the Catholics desired? was it to be the Duke of Norfolk, the favourite of the great English country party? Norfolk had most friends, but he had not been reconciled to the Church, and the Pope and Philip could not move to give the throne to a Protestant. Was there sufficient security for his conversion in the event of a revolution being accomplished?

The latter question was submitted by Ridolfi to the parties principally concerned just at the time when the restitution treaty was hanging fire in London.

The Duke of Norfolk, irresolute as ever, had drifted on between falsehood and loyalty, trusting partly that his friends would bring Elizabeth to consent to his marriage with the Queen of Scots, on the terms originally conceived between himself and Leicester and Pembroke, partly looking to the contingent insurrection if other means should fail. By hesitating at the critical moment he left his friends in the North to failure and exile; when the Stanleys would have raised the standard again, he was still uncertain and would not sanction their rising; but the Queen of Scots was now determined to force him to a resolution, and she sent him word, through the Bishop of Ross, that he must make up his

mind. It was idle to wait any longer for Elizabeth's approval. An application was about to be made to the King of Spain in the Queen of Scots' behalf. If the Duke of Norfolk would commit himself finally to the measures which were in contemplation, she was ready to fulfil her own engagements with him. If he shrunk from the danger or felt unequal to the enterprise, she said that she must hold herself free to make other arrangements.

The English Peers still looked to Norfolk with a feudal attachment as the first of their order. Many of them represented to Don Guerau that they were still anxious that the Queen of Scots should marry him if the King of Spain would sanction it.[1] Two alternatives therefore, and two only, now lay before the Duke: either to retire from the field, and leave the Queen of Scots to look for some other alliance, or to declare himself privately a Catholic and offer himself through Ridolfi to the Pope and Philip as the instrument of an armed revolution.[2]

True to his character, Norfolk struggled hard to avoid committing himself. The prospect of the throne was too tempting to be abandoned, but he shivered at

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[1] 'Hallandose ahora aqui la Corte, y en ella los mas principales Catolicos, han aprestado otra vez la platica del casamiento del dicho Duque de Norfolk con la Reyna de Escocia y restitucion de la religion Catolica. Piden socorro de V. Mag^d, pero yo no he querido salir de la orden del Duque de Alva ni darles confiança ni desconfiança, hasta que el dicho Duque me tiene mandado.' —Don Guerau to Philip, February 6: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] Confession of the Bishop of Ross: MURDIN.

the thought of palpable and positive treason. He allowed Ridolfi to visit him at his own house. He talked over a plan of invasion which would give Alva, as he conceived, a certainty of success. He even empowered Ridolfi to assure Alva that he would come forward immediately on the landing of a Spanish army, but he shrunk from setting his name to any document of which Ridolfi was to be the bearer. The papers might fall into wrong hands, and the scaffold had terrors for him.

But Norfolk's signature was the one security which Ridolfi knew to be indispensable. He insisted, and the Duke yielded.[1] He was assured that by consenting he would heal the divisions by which the Catholics were prevented from acting together. The threatened marriage between Elizabeth and Anjou screwed his courage to the sticking point. Being still under surveillance at his own house, he was unable to consult freely with his friends, but he gathered heart from a list of Peers who Ridolfi told him would sign if he would sign. No less than forty noblemen professed to be waiting only for an opportunity to declare in arms against Elizabeth, and of the rest a third were neutral.[2]

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[1] Norfolk swore afterwards that he had signed nothing. The Bishop of Ross, though he admitted that Ridolfi had received every encouragement short of absolute signature; that a letter written in the Duke's name had been read over to him, and had been approved by him; and that in essentials he was thoroughly implicated, yet in that one point supported his denial. But a letter from the Duke to Philip survives at Simancas to make his formal guilt as indisputable as his substantial complicity.

[2] The forty were, the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Winchester, the Earls of Arundel, Oxford, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Shrewsbury, Derby. Worcester,

It need not be supposed that all the party had been consulted severally, or could have been admitted safely to a dangerous secret. They were men however notoriously opposed to the Reformation policy of Elizabeth's Government, and among them were Clinton, the admiral of the fleet, and Shrewsbury, under whose charge the central person of the conspiracy was residing. So supported, or so believing himself to be supported, the Duke of Norfolk took the fatal plunge, and gave power to Ridolfi, in his own and his brother nobles' names, to bring a Spanish army into England. Parliament was to open on the 1st of April. The arrangements of the conspirators were completed by the middle of March. Ridolfi, after a circuit to Brussels, Rome, and Madrid, expected to be again in London before the close of the summer, while the Peers would still be assembled and in a position to act.[1]

Cumberland, Southampton, Viscount Montague, Lords Howard, Abergavenny, Audley, Morley, Cobham, Clinton, Grey de Wilton, Dudley, Ogle, Latimer, Scrope, Monteagle, Sandys, Vaux, Windsor, St John, Burgh, Mordaunt, Paget, Wharton, Rich, Stafford, Dacres, Darcy, Hastings, Berkeley, Cromwell, Lumley.

Fifteen at most, according to Ridolfi, could be depended upon as true to Elizabeth, and of these, Sussex, Rutland, Huntingdon, and Hereford alone belonged to the old English aristocracy. The rest, Russell, Seymour, Sackville, Carey, were the new men who had grown out of the revolution, and so far as the Peers were concerned, rather aggravated the danger from the bitterness with which they were hated and despised. 'List of the English Nobility, with a note of the part which each nobleman was prepared to take': *MSS. Simancas.*

[1] Norfolk himself, with many of the rest, gave letters of credit in their own hands to Ridolfi. The originals were left as a precaution in the hands of Don Guerau, and transcripts in Don Guerau's cipher were forwarded to Rome and to Spain.

Don Guerau, in a letter sent direct to Spain, prepared Philip for Ridolfi's coming :—

DON GUERAU TO PHILIP.[1]

'*March* 16.

'The Queen of Scots, the Duke of Norfolk, and the other Catholic leaders, have arrived, after long deliberation, at a most important conclusion. The Queen of Scots will send a Commissioner to your Majesty, with instructions the copy of which I enclose. He will explain fully to his Holiness and to your Majesty the miserable state to which this country is reduced, the probability that the Catholics have yet greater cruelties to undergo, and the solitary prospect of escape which is open to them through the assistance of those who support the claim of the Queen of Scots to the succession of these realms. The other competitors, the Earls of Hertford and Huntingdon, are heretics. Your Majesty will be given to understand the unhappy state of that Princess, and the sufferings to which the good[2] are exposed who favour the cause. The Queen of England does but dally in affecting to treat for her restoration. More than once she has proposed to put her to death, and she forbears only the more effectually to ruin her Catholic subjects. She entertains them with the hope of an agreement, while the heretics persecute them at their pleasure. The friends of the Queen of Scots therefore have decided that she must

[1] MS. Simancas.

[2] The usual phrase in these despatches to express the Catholics.

throw herself upon the protection of the Christian princes, and especially of the Pope's Holiness and of your Majesty. They are willing to venture their lives and fortunes for religion and for that Queen's title. The Duke of Norfolk, the first nobleman in England, consents to place himself at their head. The Duke has ever in secret favoured the Catholics. His chief friends are Catholics, and he has constantly supported the Queen of Scots in deed and word. He possesses therefore the full confidence of the Catholic party.

'This Duke at the same time is the leader of a section of the heretics who might perhaps abandon him were he to be openly reconciled to the Church. It is in consequence considered expedient that he should temporize, the better to use their assistance and bring them under the yoke of the Church when occasion shall serve. He has influence among the Protestants in two ways: first, a great many of them favour the Queen of Scots' title. They believe that she has the right, and they resent the late imprisonment of the Duke on her account. The Queen of England intends in the approaching Parliament to advance the claims of the Earl of Hertford, and they will take arms with the Duke to prevent such a wrong from being done.

'Secondly, they are alarmed and angry at the marriage which is now talked of between the Queen of England and the Duke of Anjou. The Queen is supposed to have set her heart upon it, and it is thought that the Protestants would even prefer the restoration of the faith to the consummation of a union which they

detest. The Commissioner will take especial pains to explain the nature of Norfolk's position to the Pope, so that his Holiness may be satisfied about him; and it will be well if the Duke can be induced to seek absolution at his Holiness's hands, and to submit his conduct in all particulars to his Holiness's judgment. The Queen of Scots desires him to do this, in order that, should your Majesty prefer to arrange the marriage for her with Don John, which his Holiness so much desires, his Holiness may the better be able to urge the Duke to give way, by representing to him that particular interests must not be allowed to obstruct the universal good of Christendom.[1]

'The Commissioner will request his Holiness to send some one to your Majesty to give you the particulars of the men and money which his Holiness will contribute to the enterprise, and to satisfy your Majesty, should you feel uncertainty, about the Duke's religion, the Duke being the only person through whose assistance the work can be done. Against the Duke's wishes it would be extremely difficult for any foreign Prince to carry off the Queen of Scots by force, or if she were out of the country to bring her back and place her upon the throne.

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[1] So I understand a rather complicated passage :—'Lo qual parece á la Reyna de Escocia assi, á fin que si V. Mag^d quisiese diferir esto, para tratar el casamiento del S^r Don Juan de Austria—el qual su Santidad desea mucho—haya de apretarlo y pasar adelante, ofreciendose tales occasiones para el bien universal de la X^dad, el qual no se debe impedir por ningun designo particular.'

If I translate rightly, Mary Stuart hoped to balk the wretched Norfolk of the reward of his treason after all.

'Your Majesty will understand that no word of all this is known in France, nor has the Queen of Scots let fall a hint of it to any of her own relations. She places her confidence in your Majesty alone, and with your Majesty, if God gives her grace to obtain her just rights, she will maintain the ancient league and confederation which has so long existed between her and your progenitors.

'She will consent also to a proposal made to her by the late Queen of Spain before her death, for a marriage between her son the Prince of Scotland and one of your Majesty's daughters. Your Majesty's pleasure in this matter will be hers. She will place the Prince in your Majesty's hands, to be educated at your Court in virtue and the Christian faith.

'Your Majesty will also hear in detail the nature of the assistance which will be required, the native force with which your Majesty's army will be supported, and the means by which the Queen of Scots can be released, and the Queen of England arrested and confined: you will be able to assure yourself that this is no ill-considered enterprise in which you are invited to take part and that your soldiers will be in no danger.'

Accompanying this letter, as Don Guerau stated, were transcripts of the commissions given both by the Queen of Scots and the Duke of Norfolk to Ridolfi The Queen of Scots had not at first intended to communicate to Don Guerau the full details of the plot.

She feared that he would send a sketch of them prematurely to Alva, and that Alva would form an unfavourable opinion with an imperfect case before him. But the Bishop of Ross feared to awake Don Guerau's suspicions by mutilated confidence. If Don Guerau felt his footsteps insecure anywhere in such a sea of quicksands, he would report in a hostile spirit, and the scheme would be ruined.

Mary Stuart's letter was therefore laid before him exactly as she wrote it, and the ambassador's own account to Philip was in parts a mere duplicate of the Queen of Scots' words. In form it was addressed to Ridolfi, and the matter which it contained was to be laid before the Pope and Philip.

With extreme skill, and touching with comparative lightness on her personal sufferings, she turned the substance of her representations entirely upon the cause of the Catholic Church. When she spoke of her title and claims, she seemed to value them chiefly as means towards the restoration of the faith; and her own injuries appeared most to grieve her through the sympathy which they excited among the Catholic noblemen—a sympathy which, immediately that it was manifested, brought down upon her friends the most cruel and malignant persecutions. 'Some were in prison,' she said, 'some murdered, some in exile, and she was so grieved that she prayed often it might be the will of God to take her out of the world. If she was once dead and beyond the reach of the hard woman who had her in her hands, the Catholics, she thought, would then be

more patient, and would be content to wait till God took pity on them.'

'She was mocked at, trifled with, and insulted with hopes of release which were never intended to be realized. She was in daily expectation of assassination either by poison or open violence. A person had once even come to the place where she was, with a commission to kill her, and she was kept alive only that Scotland might be plunged into the miseries of uncertainty and civil war, and that Elizabeth might make her hateful to her subjects by representing to them that she was the cause of their sufferings.'

She then went on to speak of Norfolk and the English nobility, of their friendliness to herself, their zeal for the Catholic Church, and their determination to risk life and fortune to overturn the present Government. She touched approvingly on Norfolk's treachery to the Protestants in pretending still to belong to them, on the Anjou marriage, and the fury of the English people at the prospect of having a French prince among them; and afterwards, successively, she went over all the points on which Don Guerau had written to his master—the necessity of making use of the Duke, her own devotion to Spain, and the certainty of the success of an invasion.[1]

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[1] Instructions of the Queen of Scots to Ridolfi: *MSS. Simancas.*

A message was attached which Ridolfi was to give separately to the Pope, contrived to meet any rumours which might have reached him as to her past misdoings.

'You will explain to his Holiness,' she said, 'the ill-treatment which I met with from my subject, the Earl of Bothwell. The Earl carried me, the Lord Huntly, and

So far Mary Stuart. It is necessary to remember that she was no subject of Elizabeth's; that in the eyes of Elizabeth she was still Queen of Scotland, unlawfully deprived of her crown by her subjects for crimes of which, after a formal examination, she had not been declared to be guilty. So far as Scotland was concerned therefore Elizabeth had no right whatever to complain of her using any means and inviting any assistance to compel the recognition of her authority there. In England, her position was so utterly anomalous that it was hard to say whether she could or could not be regarded justly as subject to the laws; and could the causes which brought her there have been forgotten, she would have been entitled morally to use any means whatever to recover her freedom.

She indeed seeing her crimes condoned by Peers and Prelates, by the Vicar of Christ upon his spiritual throne, might easily have persuaded herself that she

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my secretary, to the Castle of Dunbar and afterwards to the Castle of Edinburgh. I was there detained against my will until he had procured a pretended divorce between himself and his wife, the Lord Huntly's sister, and he then forced me to marry him. I therefore entreat his Holiness to take order for my relief from this indignity, either by a process at Rome or by a commission sent into Scotland.'

If the Queen of Scots wished to marry again it was no doubt necessary for her to free herself from a troublesome engagement. Yet the versatile lady had but two months before been in correspondence with Bothwell himself. Buchanan, who had gone to Copenhagen to endeavour to prevail on the King to give up Bothwell to the Regent, ascertained that the Queen of Scots had both written to the Earl herself and had written to the King to entreat him not to listen to Buchanan's persuasions. Buchanan told Cecil that if he took the trouble, he might intercept some of her letters.—Buchanan to Cecil, January 19. From Copenhagen: *MSS. Scotland, Rolls House.*

was the chosen of Heaven, a woman after God's heart, like the David to whom her defenders compared her. It was true that Elizabeth had protected her honour and had saved her life—saved her when all parties in Scotland would have shaken hands over her grave—saved her when the wisest of the English council believed that her life had a second time been forfeited. It was true, as Elizabeth said, that no sovereign in Europe would have shown the forbearance which she had shown to a pretender to her crown. Yet benefits, when undeserved, are but added injuries; and rage, hatred, jealousy, the thousand passions which failure upon failure had aggravated to madness, explain entirely the desperate course upon which the imprisoned Queen was now venturing.

Far different was the position of the Duke of Norfolk. Norfolk knew Mary Stuart's story, and never pretended to believe her the suffering innocent which her friends now represented her to be. Norfolk was Elizabeth's subject, but lately pardoned by her for offences for which her father would have made short work with him. Bound to her by the most solemn promises, which on the moment when he made them he had determined to break, and without even the poor pretext of religion to invest his treason with spurious sanctity—Norfolk's instructions come next. Whether written by himself matters little. He denied them, but the evidence of their substantial authenticity is too strong to be shaken by his own tainted word. They were read over in his presence and approved by him,

and the bearer carried credentials from him to the King of Spain.

He too, like the Queen of Scots, addressed himself in form to Ridolfi.[1] 'Such,' he said, 'is the confidence which is placed in you by the Queen of Scots, by myself, and by others our friends in this realm, that with common consent we entrust a matter to your diligence and honesty, which touches the safety of our own lives, the welfare of this nation, and generally of the whole of Christendom. We commission you to go with all expedition, first to Rome and then to the Catholic King, that you may lay before his Holiness and his Majesty the wretched state of this island, our own particular wrongs, as I have more largely by word of mouth made them known to you, and an assured mode by which our country and ourselves can obtain relief.

'The Queen of Scots has informed you what you will say on her part. I on mine, and in the names of the larger number of the Peers of this realm—the list of whom you carry with you—declare our own opinions in the following words; and we pray God to conduct you safely through your journey, and to bring you back with happy success.

'You will tell his Holiness and the King that, to all appearance, bad things will grow to worse among us, unless God of his mercy shall move them to look upon our afflictions and assist us—as they may now do with ease and safety—to advance the title of the Queen of

[1] Instructions of the Duke of Norfolk to Robert Ridolfi: *MSS. Simancas.*

Scots, to restore the Catholic religion, and to suppress the pretensions of the Earls of Hertford and Huntingdon, who on various grounds aspire to the succession, and, being Huguenots, find favour with the heretics.

'You will make known the good and prompt disposition of the Catholics, who are the strongest party in numbers and rank, and you will explain the opportunity which is now offered for the re-establishment of the truth, through the just title of the Queen of Scots, many of the Protestants regarding religion as of less importance than the succession, and being therefore ready to support the Queen of Scots against the rival claimants.

'And since his Holiness and the Catholic King may have hitherto been dissatisfied with me, as having in some sort affected to be a Huguenot, you will say that I have never been disloyal to the Holy See, but have desired only to hold myself in readiness (when an occasion like the present should offer itself) to do some service to my country and the common weal of Christendom;[1] as the event will show if they give us now the aid for which we ask. My hope is to unite this whole island under one sovereign, and restore the ancient laws and the ancient religion. Yet, because

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[1] 'Y quando su Santidad y el Rey hasta agora hubiesen tenido alguna sospecha de mi por no haberme declarado, antes en cierta manera mostrado ser Ugonote, les significareis que no ha sido por mala voluntad que yo aya tenido á aquella Santa Sede, sino para poder, quando el tiempo y ocasion se presentase como agora se ofresce, hacer á toda esta Isla y generalmente á toda la Christiandad el relevado servicio que el mismo effecto mostrara.'

on account of the Queen of Scots' title, many Huguenots work with me and under me, they must not be surprised if I do not as yet make known my purpose to every one. You will kiss the feet of his Holiness in my name and that of the nobles, and you will say that, if God gives me grace to conduct this enterprise to a happy end, I will then be content to do anything which his Holiness, the King of Spain, and the Queen of Scots shall ordain.

'I and my friends will adventure our lives in the cause, and I beseech his Holiness to use his influence with the Catholic King in our behalf. You will convince his Majesty of the sincere hearts with which we turn to him, and although I may at times, either for the sake of the Queen of Scots or for other causes, have seemed to incline too much towards France, you will say that I have never been French at heart, but that my inclinations have been always towards his Majesty, as I hope I shall have occasion to prove. I turn to him as my most sure refuge. I beseech him to help me in the interests of the Christian world. The pernicious purpose of those about the Queen is to determine the succession to some one of their own sort, and to establish the Huguenot religion, not here only, but in all Europe. If this be done, the King's Low Countries will be in danger, especially if the marriage take effect between the Queen and the Duke of Anjou, —but that marriage shall never be, if the King will aid us in preventing it.

'You will tell his Majesty that, in return for the

confidence which we place in him, we trust he will approve of my own marriage with the Queen of Scots. Half the realm desires it as well as I. We bind ourselves to renew the league between England and Spain, and to restore, as we should have long ago done but for the late troubles, all the property of the King which is detained in this country. His Majesty will find us ready to do our own parts. The nobles and the people promise to take arms with myself at their head, and to adventure themselves in battle; yet, being imperfectly provided, we cannot do all of ourselves. We ask his Majesty for money, arms, ammunition, troops, and especially for some experienced soldier to lead us;[1] we on our part providing a place upon the coast where his army can land, entrench itself, and keep its stores.

'We can ourselves on the spot provide 20,000 foot and 3000 horse; besides those many others who have pledged themselves afterwards to take the field upon our side.

'In my own opinion, the most convenient port will be Harwich, where I can myself be present with the forces of the country. If Portsmouth be thought better, I will be there in strength enough, for a time at least, to hold in check the Queen of England's army. From his Majesty and his Holiness we ask for 6000 harquebuss-men, with 4000 additional harquebusses to

[1] 'Se digne assister nos lo mas pronto que pudiese, assi con dineros como con el numero de gente, armas y municiones, y principalmente con un personage de experiencia para guiar un exercito.'

arm our own people, 2000 corslets, and 25 pieces of artillery. 3000 horses will be wanted also, to keep command of the country in case the Queen of England make more resistance than it is thought she will be able to do. Money will be wanted also; and if the enterprise succeed, as with the help of God and of his Majesty it must, I and the Queen of Scots undertake to reimburse his Majesty for all the expenses which he may incur. Were it possible to increase the succour to 10,000, 2000 men being landed in Scotland, and 2000 in Ireland, the Queen would have to divide her forces, and success would be the more certain.

'If the war with the Turks, or other impediment, make it necessary for his Majesty to put us off, I and others, if it seems expedient, might retire to Spain or Flanders, and wait for a more convenient time. The Queen of Scots however must be first set at liberty. If we go away and leave her in the Queen of England's hands, she will be destroyed.

'If the Queen of England be left with her present advisers, the Low Countries will never be secure. After the success of our proposed scheme, his Majesty need fear no further troubles there, and you will tell the King therefore, that it should be executed before the end of the coming summer, and before the French or the Queen of England have discovered our secret. As yet, you will say, the French know nothing of it, nor is there any surer way to prevent the Anjou marriage. Be as quick as you can that we lose not the summer You carry letters of credit from me and from all my

friends, for his Holiness, the King, and the Duke of Alva;[1] but as both you and the Bishop of Ross are of opinion that these letters may be dangerous both to yourselves and to us, you may leave them in the hands of the Spanish ambassador; you will ask him, from me, to transcribe them in his own cipher, and send copies to each of the princes, and assure them that he is in possession of the originals;[2] giving at the same time the reasons why you have them not with you. If I can see the ambassador and confirm to him what I have said to you, I will do so. If not, I must let him know by letter. I will write with so much the more warmth to his Majesty, whose hand you will kiss with all due reverence in my name.[3] You must insist on my desire

[1] 'Llevais cartas de creencia mias y de todos los amigos.'

[2] 'Me contento que las dexeis aqui en manos del Embajador de España, con rogarle de mi parte que se contente de daros copia dellas en su cifra mas secreta y que escriba á cada uno de los dichos Principes como tiene los originales cerca de si.'

[3] The commission is so long that I have been obliged to abridge it in places, but I have omitted nothing of consequence, and I have as far as possible preserved the tone. The letter of credit, which was forwarded in Don Guerau's cipher, was as follows:—

'Christiani orbis Serenissime idemque Catholice Rex; hujus insulæ Britannicæ statum tot miseriis et ærumnis undique religionis ergo dissidii quoque fidei causâ deplorandum considerans, hunc nuntium Robertum Ridolfi, virum probum, de aliorum procerum hujus regni consilio in præsentiam V. Maj^{tis} mitto, adeo instructum ut de rebus ad publicum spectantibus commodum, Serenitatem tuam certiorem redderre poterit, cui fidem haberi et eundem bene expeditum eâ celeri diligentiâ quam ipsius negotii statum (*sic*) requirit ad nos remitti humillime supplico, et ut omnia ad optatum perducantur finem, non solum omnem meam operam et cætera quæ mearum virium sunt, sed et vitam denique meam in Dei gloriam exponere summâ fide polliceor. Cætera vero quæ V^{æ} Maj^{ti} nuntius abunde et perspicace (*sic*) coram disseret ad V^{æ} Maj^{tis} summam prudentiam, sicut et mea omnia definienda supplex refero, quam semper incolumem servet et

to serve him, and entreat him to think well of me.

'To the Duke of Alva you will give my commendations: you will admit him as far as you think proper into our plans—and as you find him disposed, you will ask for his favourable letters to his Holiness and the King. You will require him as a Prince of honour not to betray us; and you will leave our cipher with him, that we may keep him informed of what is going on among us.

'And, because the King of Portugal is also much offended with the Queen of England, I think that, being a most Catholic Prince, he cannot but favour us. As this Prince has no ambassador residing here through whom I can communicate with him, you will ask his Holiness and the Catholic King to introduce you to him: and when you shall have left them, and shall have let us know what we are to look for from them, you may return through Portugal, and tell the King, that if he will join our enterprise, I will undertake to see him satisfied for the injuries which he has sustained. He can help us much by throwing men into Ireland or Scotland. It will not be suspected, and his transports could be on the coast before a word had been heard about them. The Queen will have to divide her force. She will be disturbed and terrified, and the rest of the work can be executed with greater ease.'[1]

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tueatur Deus Optimus Maximus. Londini, vigesimo Martii 1571.

'Celeritudinis tuæ addictissimus servus,

'THOMAS DUX NORFOLCIÆ.'

—*MSS. Simancas.*

[1] Commission of the Duke of Norfolk to Ridolfi: *MSS. Simancas.* An Italian version of the same document has been printed by Labanoff from the Vatican Archives.

That ambiguous crime of treason, which graduates, according to its object and circumstances, through all moral degrees, from the most sublime virtue to the deepest wickedness, has rarely appeared less favourably than in this unlucky paper. If the Duke of Norfolk is to be credited with a sincere conversion to the Roman faith, that faith itself assumed in his person its most revolting and perfidious aspect. The penitent was not to reveal his creed because he was still trusted by those whose cause he was betraying; and because, by retaining their confidence, he could serve the Catholic interests more effectually. If, as he afterwards protested, he remained at heart a Protestant, he was deceiving alike his new friends and his old. He was without the solitary excuse which he might have pleaded in palliation of his treachery. He was bringing an army of strangers upon England, he was preparing to inflict upon his countrymen the inevitable horrors of invasion and civil war, to gratify his own pride and paltry ambition. Doubtless, to his conscience, if conscience pricked him, he could say that there was much in the administration of which he disapproved: the excesses of the Reformation, the social changes, and the growth of a new order of men whom he may have hated as his father hated Cromwell, might have reasonably offended his prejudices. Doubtless, even while he called himself a Lutheran, he had no sympathy with the Protestantism of France, and Scotland, and the Low Countries, which Cecil's policy encouraged and protected; yet, it was not to remedy such ills as these that Alva's legions should have been called in to

water English soil with English blood. Not on such grounds as these should he have sought the overthrow of a Government, which, however grave its shortcomings, was the mildest which England had known for many a century. He might sigh for the patriarchal days of feudalism, when the earls and dukes were local sovereigns, and no upstart commoner could stride before them on the road to power; but there was little likelihood that the ancient order and reverence which he and his friends so much regretted, could be re-established by lying and treachery, or that a purer creed could be brought back into the Church, by placing Elizabeth's sceptre in the hands of Bothwell's paramour. There had been a time when Norfolk would not have required to be reminded of such common truths. He was not naturally mean or false. But the spell of the enchantment was upon him, and the woman, for whose sake he was fouling his hands with baseness, was intending secretly, when she had used his services, to dupe him at last out of his reward.

Thus Ridolfi went—ostensibly on Elizabeth's business—to return if possible in the summer with the Spanish army, and Norfolk lay waiting in Howard House for the springing of the mine, while Mary Stuart corresponded with Elizabeth about the treaty as if her thoughts were absorbed in that and that only. She appealed from Elizabeth ill informed by her detractors to Elizabeth who would one day hear her defence; she affected still to trust to the English Queen to prevent her title being meddled with by Parliament, and she swore that she

was not entertaining a thought in Elizabeth's prejudice.[1]

In signal contrast with all this treachery and conspiracy, a remarkable exploit in Scotland threw sudden credit on the Regent's government, gave heart to the Protestants, and encouraged Elizabeth in her resolution to postpone, for a time at least, the further consideration of the Queen of Scots' restitution.

The Castle of Dumbarton has been many times mentioned in this history. The rock on which it stands forms the point of a peninsula at the confluence of the Leven and Clyde. It rises sheer from the water to a height of two hundred feet. The circumference at the base is less than half a mile, and the sides, if not entirely perpendicular, are so near it that there is but one spot where it can be ascended without ladders or ropes. The rock is united to the mainland only by a low strip of marsh and meadow, which at that time was flooded by high tides. In a cleft near the summit there is a spring of water; and thus before the invention of shells the place was virtually impregnable except by famine. It had been held by Lord Fleming, in the name of Mary Stuart, from the beginning of the troubles in Scotland. It was to Dumbarton that she was retreating when intercepted at Langside. Dumbarton was the open gate through which French or Spaniards could have entrance into Scotland. It was a sanctuary of disaffection; a

[1] 'Veu comme desubs que je ne désire rien mouvoir de ma part pour ne vous desplayre sans aultre respect je vous jure.'—Mary Stuart to Elizabeth, March 27; and compare Same to the Same, March 31: LABANOFF, vol. iii.

shelter for English Catholic rebels; a residence for a French minister, who was kept there to nourish hopes which might or might not be realized, and, commanding free access to the sea, was a focus and hotbed of intrigues with the Continental Powers. The two Regents had watched anxiously for a chance of getting possession of it. The journey in which Murray lost his life had been undertaken in the vain hope that it would be surrendered. Sir William Drury surveyed it after he had destroyed Hamilton Castle, and a ball from a ditch had nearly ended his course there. The occupation of Dumbarton by an English garrison was among the conditions demanded by Elizabeth in the treaty. But for the present Queen Mary's banner waved above the battlements on Wallace's Tower; Fleming was still in command; the Archbishop of St Andrew's, who had been proclaimed traitor after Murray's murder, found shelter behind its crags. De Virac was there, superintending the supplies of arms and money which were continually coming in from France, and beside others there was a young Englishman also, named Hall, a friend of Sir Thomas Stanley, who had been concerned in the last Lancashire conspiracy.

It has been said that while the treaty was under consideration in London, the two parties in Scotland had suspended hostilities. The conference having broken up, the armistice was not to be renewed and was to terminate on the 1st of April. In the last week of March, a man who had been a servant in the castle, and bore some grudge against Lord Fleming for ill-treat-

ment of his wife, came to Lennox at Glasgow, and told him that the garrison was keeping negligent watch, and that the place might be surprised. Crawford of Jordanhill, Darnley's last friend, who had shared his confidence on Mary Stuart's fatal visit to him, was now an officer of Lennox's guard. Throughout the civil war, when any exploit of note and mark was to be accomplished, Crawford was always among the foremost. He was a man of great personal courage, devoted to the young King, and one of those who were most anxious to avenge his father's murder. He had a follower of his own who had once lived at Dumbarton, and knew his way about the cliffs, and with this man's help Crawford, when the Regent consulted him, determined to undertake the enterprise. If done at all it was to be done at the first permissible moment, before the recommencement of the war placed Fleming again upon the alert. On the 31st of March, an hour before sunset, Crawford, with one of the Ramsays and a hundred and fifty men, went quietly out of Glasgow, carrying with them ladders, cords, and 'crows of iron to drive into the rock.' A party of horse had been sent on to watch the road and prevent intelligence from being carried to the castle. At midnight they were at Dumbuck, a mile and a half up the river. The moon set shortly after, and with their guns strapped to their backs, the ladders slung between them, and attached in line by the cords that none might stray, they stole down over the marshes in single file. It was a clear starlight night, but they were delayed more than once by the broad deep ditches with which the fields were

intersected, and daylight was dangerously near when they reached the foot of the rock. As dawn approached however the moist air from the Clyde condensed upon the crags and wrapped the castle in vapour. The watch was weakest where the rock was highest, and there, exactly under Wallace's Tower at the north-east corner where the road from the town first touches the cliff, they made preparations to ascend.[1] For the first forty feet there was a sheer precipice. The cliff then split, making a kind of funnel, at the top of which stood a stunted ash tree, and above that a steep grassy slope of a hundred and twenty feet rising to the foot of the wall. Crawford and the guide went up first. The ladder brought them within ten or twenty feet of the tree,[2] and from thence they scrambled up the rock in the darkness with extreme difficulty, dragging a rope behind them which they succeeded in lashing to the stem. With this assistance the rest rapidly followed. The mist which concealed them from the guard hap- April.

[1] The spot can be identified with certainty by the ash tree—not that the tree now growing there can be supposed to have stood three hundred years, or thirty, but the crack in the rock where it is rooted is the only spot in the whole circuit of the place where a tree could take hold.

[2] Among other romantic stories which gathered round Crawford's exploit, it was said that the first man who ascended was seized with a fit when half way up the ladder. He could neither go forward nor come down, and blocked the way for those below. After a moment's thought, Crawford lashed him hand and foot to the staves so that he could not fall, turned the ladder over and so enabled the rest to pass over him. Crawford himself, in the account which he wrote for John Knox, says nothing of this; and I fear it can scarcely be reconciled with his own modest but clear declaration that he was himself the first to go up.—See BANNATYNE'S *Journal*, p. 123.

pily deadened the sound. They collected on the foot of the slope, and thence an easy and silent climb over thick grass brought them to the bottom of the wall. To draw the ladders after them and raise them in their places was the work of a few more minutes, and a moment after, as dawn was breaking, the astonished sentinels saw three figures looming large through the fog on the battlements above their heads. Ramsay was the first to enter: with a shout of 'God and the King!' 'A Darnley, a Darnley!' he leapt down upon the half-awakened soldiers and struck them to the ground. The wall was carelessly built where no danger was anticipated. A breach was easily made through it, and before the garrison were out of their beds, the whole party had entered and Wallace's Tower and its guns were in their hands. The place was now at their mercy. The inhabited houses were in a hollow immediately at their feet; a few soldiers, half naked and blinded by the mist, attempted a short resistance. Three were killed, and some others wounded; but when they found that their cannon were taken and turned upon them, they threw down their arms to their unknown enemy who seemed to have dropped upon them from the clouds. Fleming made his way to the water-gate by the staircase which was the usual approach. The tide was in, he sprang into a boat and went off into Argyleshire. Archbishop Hamilton was less fortunate. Disturbed out of his sleep, he had put on a steel cap, and was struggling into a coat of mail, when Crawford's men were upon him. He was taken,

and Lady Fleming was taken, and de Virac: young Hall, with two friends, declared themselves English, drew their swords, and demanded leave to depart. They were told that if they had committed no crime against their sovereign they had nothing to fear: but for the present they must be considered prisoners like the rest.

The news of success was carried rapidly to Glasgow, and the Regent was on the spot by ten o'clock. Of the spoils, the money, powder, arms, guns, provisions, wine —the stores of all kinds, so carefully collected to maintain the garrison—were shared among the captors. Lennox retained only the Archbishop and his companions in captivity.[1]

It was supposed at first that so remarkable a feat could not have been performed without the help of treachery. But Crawford was able to say proudly 'that he had had no manner of intelligence within the house nor without the house.' The capture was a fair achievement of daring and adroitness, aided only by the carelessness which had invited the attempt The English prisoners were sent to Berwick; de Virac was allowed to go his way; Lady Fleming was treated with the utmost courtesy which the circumstances allowed; and the garrison was pardoned and dismissed.

Archbishop Hamilton alone was preserved, to pay

[1] Compare Buchanan's History of Scotland. Crawford's letter to Knox in Bannatyne's Memorials, and a letter of Sir W. Drury to Cecil, April 9: *MSS. Border.*

the score which had been so long accumulating against him.

It may be much to say that in all Scotland there was not one man who had better earned a halter than the Archbishop of St Andrews. There was the Calvinist minister of Spott, who was never silent about the crimes of Queen Mary, when, with at least equal atrocity, he was murdering his own wife. There was Kennedy, Earl of Cassilis, who roasted the Abbot of Crossraguel before a slow fire in a dungeon, to make him sign away his lands; and Hamilton was rather unfortunate in the number of his iniquities which were brought to light, than in any especial distinction above the other miscreants of his time. Of a Churchman he had nothing in him beyond the appetite for persecution. It was he who had burnt Walter Milne, the last of the Scottish martyrs. He was made Beton's successor only because he was the brother of the Duke of Chatelherault, and because the revenue of the archbishopric was a splendid provision for his vices. He had been the prime adviser in the late intrigues of his family. He had been in the secret of the murder of Darnley; it removed an obstacle between the Hamiltons and the crown. He had promoted and pronounced the infamous divorce of Bothwell, knowing or hoping that in marrying him the Queen would destroy herself; and while affecting to be her warmest friend, he had offered in the name of his family to support Morton and Lindsay in putting her to death, if the Regency was given back to his brother, and the succession after

the Prince secured to his brother's heirs. His last and foulest crime had been the murder of Murray, which was perpetrated by his kinsman, and traced in its contrivance to himself, his nephews, and Mary Stuart's household.

There was but one gaoler in Scotland whose bolts neither bribe nor intrigue could undo; and to that dark keeping Lennox hastened to consign him. He begged hard for a brief respite, if only that he might have some form of trial; but the Regent knew that if he waited till a post could reach London and return from it, his hands would be tied by the Queen of England. The notoriety of his guilt was held to be sufficient proof against him, and an Act of a so-called Parliament an adequate sentence. He was sent the way of his predecessor by the wild justice of revenge. Beton had been stabbed in his own room, dangled out of a window of his castle, and salted in the dungeon of the Sea Tower. Hamilton was hanged at Stirling five days after his capture; some not unlettered hand writing upon the gibbet—

> Cresce diu, felix arbor, semperque vireto;
> Oh utinam semper talia poma feras.[1]

Elizabeth forgave easily an execution which her weakness would have allowed her to prevent. She congratulated Lennox on his success, and she recommended him to keep Dumbarton as surely as it had been bravely won.[2]

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[1] Long may'st thou grow and thrive, thou bounteous tree,
To bear for aye such fruits as this we see.

[2] Elizabeth to Lennox, April 22: *MSS. Scotland.*

CHAPTER LVI.

THE RIDOLFI CONSPIRACY.

FROM the great day when Wolsey ceased to be a minister, when Cardinal Campeggio left England carrying with him the curses of the people and the stolen love-letters from Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn, the Parliament met year after year for a quarter of a century, almost without intermission. In the early steps of the revolution, whether it was in the reconstruction of the law, the establishment of the succession, the attainder of a minister, or the decapitation of a queen, the representatives of the people were seen, for good or evil, taking their share in the actions of the Crown.

Whether it was, according to the modern theory, that the Parliaments of Henry VIII. were but the mechanical instruments of a despot's caprice, or that the great body of the nation sincerely approved of the King's policy, such was the evident fact; and the result of it

was that broad mass of legislation on which the ecclesiastical constitution of England reposes—a legislation the vitality of which after so many centuries of change is a witness to the wisdom of the statesmen by whom those laws were constructed.

The practice of annual or frequent parliaments, commenced by King Henry, was followed reluctantly and with less success by the Protector Somerset, the Duke of Northumberland, and Queen Mary. Disagreements naturally rose between the Crown and the Peers and Commons, when the government remained in the hands of one or other of the extreme parties in the country. With the accession of Elizabeth and a return to a more moderate policy, the good understanding might have been expected to come back. It might have been thought that the Queen would have followed the example of her father in this respect if in no other so confessedly excellent, and that no season would have been allowed to pass without the opinion of the country being allowed to express itself through its legitimate channel.

The anticipation however, if entertained by the people, had not been fulfilled. Elizabeth had now reigned thirteen years, and in all that time there had been but three short sessions. She was personally popular—popular for her own qualities, and popular because her life was the only breakwater between the country and civil war; yet the Parliament of 1566 had been dissolved in disgrace, and she looked forward to another as the most unwelcome of necessities.

The reason was not far to seek for. The succession to the crown was still undetermined. The religious differences, which would have died away with an ascertained future, had been aggravated by the uncertainty. The marriage of the Queen, so naturally and justly desired, was still in the clouds, the value of it as a means of providing an heir to the crown was sinking to zero with her advancing years, and the experience of the last session might well make her unwilling to encounter another while still unprovided with a husband. If the dread of a disputed succession secured to the Queen of Scots, notwithstanding her crimes, the tacit or avowed support of the great conservative party, her claims on the consideration of Parliament, had she come upon it with clean hands, would have been altogether irresistible. Her friends would have said to Elizabeth, 'We can bear our uncertainties no longer. Here by the laws of blood is your undoubted heir, bred from a marriage contrived by your grandfather to unite this island under one head, and bringing Scotland in her hand as her dowry. Would you have married as we desired, and as you promised, you might have had children of your own, and one and all of us would have been true to you and yours. But you have played with the princes of Christendom till you have offended them all and have left us without an ally in the world. You are thirty-eight years old, and you have no husband, no child, nor likelihood of child. Our lives, our properties, our national independence are at stake, and we will bear it no longer. It is true that the Queen of Scots when in

France made unwise pretensions to your crown; we will secure you against a repetition of that danger. She shall promise to respect your rights while you live. She is a Catholic, and so are more than half your subjects, but we desire no revolution, no bloody Mary to rule over us; there shall be toleration on all sides, and equal liberty to Protestant and Catholic to worship in their own way.'

This would have been the unanimous language of the English Nobles; a majority of the Commons would have gone along with them, and with what pretext could Elizabeth have resisted? She could not have resisted at all. She would have had no power and probably no will to resist; and beyond reasonable doubt Parliament would not have again separated till the long-vexed question had been determined in Mary Stuart's favour.

The prospects of a lady who had presided over the horrors at Kirk o' Field were far less promising. The political reasons in favour of her succession were as strong as ever; but it was no longer possible for an English nobleman to rise in Parliament and speak openly for her title. Her cause was now maintained in secret by conspiracy and rebellion, rebellion under false pretences, and lying pamphlets, and parallels of David. The Catholic religion, shrinking from the light among these subterranean elements, was losing what of English frankness there lay in it, and was walking in the dark with its hand upon the poniard. But this more gloomy turn which affairs were taking was due itself to the

disappointment of more legitimate hopes. The Catholic party could find no other representative. Mary Stuart, as they again and again said, was their only hope, and they were themselves degraded to the level of the cause which they were supporting. Passion and fanaticism were called in to defend what reason could not justify; the religious reaction was precipitated into the most extravagant forms; and Puritanism on the other side was destroying much that was left of moderate counsels. Had Elizabeth published Mary Stuart's letters after the inquiry at Westminster—had she done this, and coupled with it the recognition of James as King of Scotland and her successor—half her own troubles would have been avoided, and half the national perils. But she had allowed the opportunity to pass, and she could not recall it. The two Houses were now divided, and were the representatives of two religions and two policies. The Norfolk marriage was likely to be revived among the Peers and pressed upon her consent; the Commons would probably boil over in some fierce stream of anti-Popery, would insist on declaring the Queen of Scots incapable of the succession and recognizing one of Lord Hertford's children; while both alike would combine in not undeserved reproaches against herself.

It was no wonder that Elizabeth dreaded the meeting of another Parliament, but an empty treasury made longer delay impossible. The suspension of commerce had ruined the customs. Ireland absorbed annually almost a fourth of the ordinary revenue; and Scotland,

and the navy, and the expenses of the Border, and the secret-service money—taking the form chiefly of subsidies to the Prince of Orange and the Huguenots—were making demands upon the exchequer which no economy could meet. The lands of the Northern Earls could not be touched till they were attainted, and in some form or other the Bull of Pope Pius required an answer from the nation.

The Houses were to meet on the 2nd of April. The forty noblemen who were parties to the Ridolfi plot would be in London with their retinues; and the Queen of Scots, who had reason to believe that measures might be introduced unfavourable to herself, and who recollected how Morton, Lindsay, and Ruthven had broken up the Parliament at Edinburgh which was to have attainted Murray, conceived that the same game might be repeated by her present friends with equal success. The Duke of Alva's willingness to assist her would be proportioned to the energy of the English Catholics themselves. The Duke of Norfolk, though released from the Tower, was not to be allowed to take his seat among the Peers. The great party of which he was the leader was deeply affronted, and their resentment might be utilized to practical effect. The servants and followers of the Lords would be sufficient, if combined, to overcome the utmost resistance which could be offered by the Court; and the Queen of Scots once more endeavoured to spur her languid lover into energy. She recommended him and Arundel to surprise the Queen, seize her and Cecil, April.

and before the opening scatter such of the Commons as had arrived, so to end the Anjou marriage and all other troubles at a single blow.[1] The scheme was perhaps not impracticable. The Court suspected nothing. The Bishop of Ross talked it over with the Catholic leaders. Arundel, Lumley, Worcester, Southampton, Montague, and several others, were ready. Lord Derby's sons had come up with some hundreds of Lancashire gentlemen, and were eager for any desperate enterprise. Young Talbot had arranged a plan for the simultaneous escape of the Queen of Scots; relays of horses were provided, and a ship was in readiness at Liverpool to carry her to the Isle of Man till the struggle in England should be over.[2] Nothing however could be done without Norfolk, and Norfolk was one of those unlucky conspirators who wait always for a better opportunity. The Bishop of Ross laid the design before him, and showed him the promises of his

[1] Confession of the Bishop of Ross, October, 1571: MURDIN. Barker's Confession: Ibid.

[2] Several projects had been formed to get her out of Sheffield, some details of which were discovered by the Earl of Morton on his way back to Scotland. 'She would feign herself ill for two or three days and then be taken down-stairs to see the dancing.' She was to dance herself, affect to faint, and be carried to her room. One of her women, dressed like her, would take her place on the bed, while she, in the disguise of a page, would escape from a postern. If this failed, she was to go hunting, one of her ladies representing her, and she again as a page. A Scot was to come in post with a pretended commission from Elizabeth to speak with her. He would address himself to the lady, who when he retired would direct the page to wait upon him: or

'She should cut her hair, blot her face and body with filth as though she was a turnbroach of the kitchen, and so convey herself forth on foot to some place where horses should be provided for her.'—Morton to Cecil, April 7: *MSS.* QUEEN OF SCOTS

friends. But the little decision which he possessed was unnerved by the badness of his cause. He knew too well the nature of the woman for whom he was turning traitor, and when he was warming to the striking-point the thought of it froze the blood in his veins.[1] 'Too dastardly and soft,' as the disappointed Catholics called him, 'unfit alike for good or ill;' he said he did not like 'Italian devices;' 'he would attempt nothing till he got answer from the princes beyond the seas.'[2]

Thus the occasion passed, and Parliament opened in peace, the Protestant party being strengthened in the Upper House by the presence of the Queen's cousin, lately created Lord Buckhurst, and, far more important, of Cecil, whose long services had been rewarded, on the 25th of February, by the Barony of Burghley. Including these two, there were now sixty-one Peers upon the list, besides Westmoreland and Morley, who were in Flanders, and the Earl of Northumberland, who was at Lochleven. Of the sixty-one, Lord Cumberland and Lord Bath were under age. Norfolk was not allowed to sit, and to compensate for his absence Hertford was excluded also. Lord Derby was ill and could not come up, and Shrewsbury could not leave his charge. Eight others were absent for various reasons, and seven of the twenty-two bishops. The Upper

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[1] 'I confess that I, waiting on my Lord and master, did hear his Grace say that upon examination of the matter of the murder, it did appear that the Queen of Scots was guilty and privy to the murder of the Lord Darnley, her late husband.' —Barker's Confession; MURDIN, p. 134.

[2] Confession of the Bishop of Ross, October, 1571: MURDIN Barker's Confession: Ibid.

House was therefore composed of sixty-two members in all. The bishops were to a man under Cecil's direction, and their united vote, including the proxies, could always be depended upon. Seven of the absent Peers gave their proxies to Leicester, and Leicester would not go over to the Catholics till he saw that they were certain to succeed. So far therefore the prospects of the Government were favourable. Lord Arundel, with the Ridolfi revolution in front of him, was unlikely to try the experiment, under such circumstances, of a parliamentary conflict

The proceedings commenced, as usual, with a speech from the Lord Keeper. It was long, but contained little beyond an encomium on the Queen's government, and an intimation that, through 'the raging Romanist rebels,' the Queen had incurred extraordinary expenses in defence of the kingdom, and required money. She had reduced her personal outlay, cutting off all needless luxuries and extravagancies, to avoid being a burden to her people; but the peace of the realm had been disturbed both at home and in Ireland. The malice of the time obliged her to keep a fleet upon the seas for the protection of commerce. The state of parties in Scotland required the presence of a large force upon the Border, and with the utmost economy she was unable to meet the demands upon her. This, with two short paragraphs on a revision of the laws, was all, in substance, which Bacon said. The succession, the excommunication, the Queen's marriage—the subjects which really occupied all men's minds—were passed over in

silence. A reform in the discipline of the Church was admitted to be necessary, but a wish was pointedly expressed that it should be left to the bishops.

Had the Parliament confined themselves to the programme thus marked out for them, the session would have passed over quietly. So long as no attempt was made to cut the Queen of Scots off from the succession, the Peers would have been content to wait to assert her claims after the arrival of Alva; and the Commons were intended to restrict themselves to voting the supplies.

The Commons however were in no humour to be thus easily managed. The ultra-Protestants proved to be in an enormous majority. The rebellion of the North, and the general necessity of things, had developed largely and freely the Puritan spirit of the towns; and the Catholic reaction in the country districts, the loose administration of the laws, and the notoriously Romanizing tendencies of the Peers and country families, acted as a challenge to the fiercer of the Reformers to try their strength with them. For ten years past there had been an earnest desire in the Reforming leaders to inflict the Thirty-nine Articles both on clergy and laity as a test of doctrine, to reform the Prayer-book, and impose on England generally the Genevan discipline. As a step in this direction, on the first day on which the Houses met for business, a Bill was introduced to compel all persons, of whatever degree, not only to attend service on Sundays at church, but to be present twice a-year at the Communion.

The tongues of men, finding themselves unloosed at

last, ran over at once with a violence unprecedented in House of Commons history. Complaints burst out of the laxity with which the laws against Papists had been enforced. The Catholic services were prohibited, yet all over England masses were said in private houses with scarcely an attempt at disguise. The ecclesiastical lawyers were running in the old grooves, with pluralities and dispensations and licenses, those gray iniquities of which Henry had for a few years washed the Church Courts clean. Mr Strickland, 'a grave and antient man,' declared that 'known Papists were admitted to have ecclesiastical government and great livings, while godly Protestants had nothing,' and 'boys were dispensed with to have spiritual promotion.' God, he said, had given England the light of the Word, but England had been slack in making use of its advantages, and had not thought convenient to profess and publish the truth openly. He moved for a reproduction of Cranmer's book on the Reformation of the Laws, that the country might take its place at last among the Reformed nations, with a clear confession of its faith.

Free speech in Parliament had been one of the privileges which Henry VIII. had not attempted to interfere with. Elizabeth could never bring herself to regard it as anything but an intolerable impertinence. Sir Thomas Smith, who had succeeded Cecil as her secretary, proposed that the Communion Bill should be referred to the bishops; the Queen sent a message to the House not to waste their time over matters which did not concern them, and 'to avoid long speeches.'

Fleetwood however (afterwards the Recorder of London) said that the House 'knew that there was a God to be served as well as the bishops;' 'when Bills were referred to the Bench, they commonly came to nothing;' 'the bishops would perhaps be slow,' and they could do better without them.

The Queen's monition was unheeded, and the discussion went on more fiercely than ever. Mr Snagg insisted on the insufficiency of the Act of Uniformity. In some churches the Common Prayer was not used at all. There was only a sermon, and such prayers, extempore, as the minister might choose to offer. Mr Norton broke into invectives on the abuse 'of benefit of clergy,' 'the straining of the law by ecclesiastical judges in favour of offenders in Holy Orders,' 'the wrapping clerks in a cloak of naughtiness, and giving them liberty to sin.' The dispensations in the Court of Arches were attacked specially and bitterly. Bishops, it was presumed, 'could do nothing contrary to the Word of God,' yet, like Popes, they kept open offices for the sale of licenses to disobey the law.

So the storm broke on all sides, and for three weeks it raged incessantly. Some language was heard not wholly immoderate. Aglionby, the Member for Warwick, raised his solitary voice for liberty of conscience 'He did not approve,' he said, 'of the private oratories in the Great Houses; he would give the rich no privileges which the poor could not share, and both alike should be obliged to appear in their parish church. But receiving the Communion was something more than an

ordinary outward observance, and he thought that the law ought not to meddle with it. Men were excommunicated because they were wicked, but to force men to communicate because they were suspected of being wicked was an anomaly beyond reason or precedent.' But Aglionby was briefly told that the peace of the realm was of more importance than conscience. The Israelites were not allowed to refuse to eat the Passover, and the makers of laws were not called upon to respect the obstinacy of fools and knaves. It was enough if what Parliament prescribed was right in itself, and if the people were unfit to obey, they must make themselves fit.

Two of the officers of the Household attempted to bring back the debate to the subjects mentioned in the Speech. The Parliament, Sir James Crofts said, had met on business of immediate and serious moment; the Queen, being Head of the Church, might be trusted to do what was right, and the hasty proceedings of the House of Commons, 'before and contrary to the law, might rather hinder than help.' But Crofts was suspected to be a concealed Catholic; a Mr Pistor, a Puritan, brief and stern, and 'much' approved by the House,' complained rather of the waste of time over mere secular business, when the cause of God was in danger; subsidies, crowns, realms, what were these, he said, but dust and ashes. It was written, 'Seek first the kingdom of God.'

Whatever may have been Elizabeth's private feelings when she found herself thus defied, she showed outwardly remarkable self-command. She knew and

valued the men who were thus provoking her, and she forced herself to bear with them. Strickland fell under her displeasure. He introduced a measure without permission for the alteration of the Prayer-book, and he was sent for, reprimanded, and forbidden to return to the House. But a universal cry of Privilege warned her to be cautious, and she withdrew her prohibition. The Commons persisted, passing measure after measure, —the Bill for attendance at Communion, of which no draft remains to indicate the provisions of it; a Bill which has also perished, restricting or abolishing the dispensing power of the Court of Arches; and a Bill which unfortunately did not share the fate of its companions, and made its way to the statute-book to trouble the peace of broader times. Convocation, nine years before, had reimposed upon the clergy, so far as they had power to legislate, the too celebrated Thirty-nine Articles of Religion. The Parliament had then refused their sanction to a measure which went far beyond the most extravagant pretensions of the Church of Rome in laying a yoke upon the conscience. But their moderation forsook them now. The heavy chains descended. The faith of England, which, but for this fatal step, might have expanded with the growth of the nation, was hardened into unchanging formulas, and intellect was condemned to make its further progress unsanctified by religion, the enemy of the Church instead of being its handmaid.[1]

[1] 13 Elizabeth, cap. xii.

A Bill became law also to check the profligate administration of Church property by ecclesiastical corporations;[1] and a companion measure was introduced, originally perhaps as part of the same statute, so singular in some of its provisions as to deserve particular notice. Puritanism had not yet blinded the eyes of Protestants to the merits of the faith of their fathers; the House of Commons could still acknowledge an excellence in the clergy of earlier times, to which they saw but faint approaches in the degenerate ministry which had taken the place of the Catholic priests.

'The Queen's noble progeniters,' so ran an Act which never reached maturity, 'had in times past endowed the clergy of the realm with most ample and large possessions, that godly religion might be the better advanced among the people, that the poor might be relieved, the children of the nobility and gentlemen of the realm be virtuously educated in the fear and knowledge of the Almighty. Whether the revenues of these estates were now employed and bestowed according to the intent and meaning of their donors, was a thing to be pondered and considered. The clergy being now married and having wives, did overmuch alienate their minds from the honest and careful duty to which they were bound to attend. The poor were left in their poverty. The ancient hospitality was no longer maintained. The ministers of the Church accepted and re-

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[1] 13 Elizabeth, cap. x.

served the most part and portion of the yearly revenues of their dignities unto themselves, to the slander of the whole estate of the clergy.' The remedy was not to return to the old law of celibacy, and it was admitted that ecclesiastics, if they brought children into the world, ought to provide for them; yet, so great a change could not be passed over without the expression of an opinion, that it was no matter for entire satisfaction. The framers of the bill desired to intimate, that archbishops and bishops, deans and provosts of colleges, ought to maintain their households on the old and generous scale; and for the necessary evils, their wives, those ladies should consider that they were the companions of learned men, who had charge and care of the whole realm as concerning the doctrine of faith and good examples of life: it was their duty therefore, as sad and discreet matrons, to bestow their time in devout and godly exercises, prayers, almsdeeds, ministering to the poor, with such like works of charity. They ought not, as was now far otherwise reported to be, much to the blemishing of their good name, to intrude and press themselves into the worldly affairs of any such State and Government.[1]

May. One after another these measures went up to the House of Lords. The Queen interfered once more. On the 1st of May she sent a message to the Commons, that Church questions belonged to herself, and that they had no business with

[1] Act for the Bishops and Clergy, 1571: *MSS. Domestic, Rolls House.*

them. But they took no notice; she required money, and she let them go their own way till the subsidy was voted.

To the Peers, the Communion Bill was most unwelcome. They knew it to be aimed at themselves, and deputations of Catholic noblemen waited on the Queen to remonstrate. Troubled as she was with her Anjou marriage, and intending if necessary to escape out of it through her Protestant orthodoxy, Elizabeth did not care to commit herself too positively on the Catholic side. A Committee of the two Houses sat to consider if it could be remodelled; but the one supremely unpalatable condition could not be shaken off; the undivided phalanx of the twenty-two Prelates never failing, who turned the scale in every division.

One Catholic nobleman said tauntingly, that if the Right Reverend Lords could agree among themselves as to what they required the laity to receive in the Sacrament, they might get over their objections; at present every parish had its own theory on the matter; and being charged as they were with the custody of their own souls, the Peers as well as others had a right to their own opinions.[1]

Burghley however lent his great weight to put down the opposition. 'The quiet of the realm,' he said, 'required that the measure should be passed. Liberty of conscience was generally good, but after the step which the Pope had chosen to take, religion had

[1] La Mothe Fénelon, May 18: *Dépêches*, vol. iv.

been made a question of allegiance. The Bible was in danger, and the Queen's throne had been made insecure.'[1]

The Bill passed, and waited only for the Queen's assent. In and out among these debates other matters went forward of no little moment, but of more importance than any one of the special measures brought forward were these signs of the humour of the Commons. The heart of Protestant England was alive; a deep earnest fear of God was spreading in the middle classes, on the Jewish rather than on the Christian model; a recognition of a Divine Sovereignty, which it was their business, in spite of knight or noble, to see recognised and obeyed upon earth. With a better cause and a laity worthy of their devotion, the Catholics might still have won; but Kirk o' Field and the Bothwell marriage were worth a legion of angels to English Protestantism.

Of thirty-nine other Acts which passed before the session ended, the following were specially noticeable. It was tacitly understood that Mary Stuart's name was not to be mentioned, but a Bill was introduced which in its original form would have cut her off from the succession as effectually as if she had been directly designated. The excommunication had made it necessary to shield the Queen with more stringent laws, and to re-enact in a modified form the repealed statutes of Henry VIII. It was proposed that 'to affirm by word or writing, that the Queen was not Queen, or that any

[1] La Mothe Fénelon, May 13: *Dépêches*, vol. iv.

other person ought to be Queen, or that the Queen was a heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper of the crown,' though not followed by any overt act, should be high treason. Any person, who during the Queen's life should lay claim to the crown, or that had already laid claim to the crown, or should not, on demand, acknowledge the Queen to be lawful Sovereign of England, should be declared incapable of succeeding to the crown after the Queen's decease. It should be high treason to maintain the right of any such person; or to deny the power of Parliament to order the succession; and 'to avoid contention of titles,' no person except the Queen's children, or not otherwise specially named and chosen by Parliament, was to be regarded or spoken of as heir to the throne, under penalties of forfeiture and outlawry.[1]

Some measure of this kind the Catholics in Parliament could not refuse to pass without open confession of disloyalty; all that they could reasonably attempt was to blunt the personal application of it. The Bill was thrown like a shuttlecock from House to House, and from committee to committee. The Queen of Scots was in the mind of all and in the mouths of none. The Protestants were struggling to extinguish her and her pretensions, the Catholics to shield her without prematurely declaring their intended treason.

The argument on one side was that it was unjust to make the Act retrospective; on the other, 'that where

[1] 13 Elizabeth, cap. i.

ambition to a crown had once entered, such was its nature that it could never be satisfied.' Sir Francis Knowles informed the Commons, that the words, 'had already laid claim,' were carefully considered by the council before the Bill was introduced, 'and were more than requisite, yea, more than convenient.' 'To stay or prevent devices past he thought it but honest policy.' Another bold speaker said that 'to pretend the Queen was not Queen might fairly be called treason, but to make it treason to call her heretic, infidel, or schismatic, was unreasonable. Catholics necessarily considered her a heretic, unless they confessed themselves to be heretics, or unless her Majesty, as some people thought, was at heart a Catholic herself; there were those who said the Established doctrines were her councillors' and not her own; and if the words to which he objected were allowed to stand, he would introduce another, and vote it treason to call her infidel, Papist, or heretic.'

Elizabeth's wishes in the matter appear nowhere, except as they may be supposed to have been represented by Knowles; and Knowles himself had more than once lamented that Elizabeth did not always think with her council. She liked to be able to tell foreign ambassadors that she disapproved of Cecil, that she valued and loved the Catholics, that she had not interfered and would not interfere with the prospective claims of Mary Stuart on the crown. In the end each side yielded something. The Act passed, but the contemplated offences were made to date from thirty days after the close of the Parliament, and if Ridolfi made

good speed, it would be a dead letter, or would recoil upon Elizabeth. Past pretensions and past acts were to be forgotten, and a power was reserved only to demand of any known pretender whether he or she would for the future admit the Queen to be lawful Sovereign. Then, but only then, if the answer was disloyal, the right, whatever it might be, was to be held forfeited.

Other clauses provided that prosecutions should be instituted in all cases within six months of the alleged offences, and that witnesses should be brought face to face with the accused.

Two further measures were modified in the same spirit. The introduction or publication of Papal Bulls in England was made high treason, high treason for any person calling himself a priest to receive English subjects into the Church of Rome, and high treason in the subject to be received; but this Act was made prospective only; and three months' grace was allowed to persons who had been converted, to make confession to their diocesan and be pardoned.[1]

Besides the exiles who had been in rebellion, many gentlemen had followed or anticipated the example of Lord Morley, and had withdrawn to the Continent. The law of England forbade subjects to reside abroad without leave from the Crown, and they had evaded it by conveying their lands in trust to relatives, through whom their rents were sent across to them. Convey-

[1] 13 Elizabeth, cap. ii.

ances of this kind were declared to be void, and the Crown was empowered to take possession of the estates of all persons who after sufficient notice refused to return. But a distinction was introduced between those who were hatching treason and those who were influenced by 'blind zeal;' and the Peers carried a special clause in favour of their own order. A Peer might recover his property at any time that he pleased by making his submission.[1]

An Act of Attainder was carried against Westmoreland, Northumberland, and their companions. Their estates became the Crown's, to be sold or disposed of as the Queen might please; and the dispute with the Bishop of Durham, which the lawyers had left after all undetermined, was disposed of by an intimation that, except for the exertions of the Crown, the Bishop would have been swept out of existence, and had therefore no claim upon the forfeitures.[2]

It had been discovered after the suppression of the insurrection that multitudes of seditious priests were continually going up and down the country in disguise or hiding in country houses as 'serving men.' The council proposed that all such persons, wherever found, should be treated as vagrants or Egyptians, that such priests should be pilloried, set in the stocks, or whipt at the cart's tail; and that the gentlemen who entertained them should be deprived of their property.[3] This prac-

[1] 13 Elizabeth, cap. iii.
[2] 13 Elizabeth, cap. xvi.
[3] Draft of an Act against Disguises of Priests, April 27, 1571: *MSS. Domestic.*

tically useful measure was not pressed, and lay over for another session. The subsidy was the only matter of importance remaining, and it was rapidly, easily, and freely disposed of. A grant of 100,000*l.* was voted without a word of opposition, and on the 29th of May the session was at an end.

As with all Elizabeth's Parliaments, it was brought to a close ungraciously. The Queen said that on the whole she was tolerably satisfied. 'Some members of the Lower House had shown themselves arrogant and presumptuous, especially in venturing to question her own prerogatives.' 'They had forgotten their duties in wasting time by superfluous speech, and they had meddled with matters not pertaining to them nor within the capacity of their understanding.' 'The audacious folly of this sort deserved and received her severest censure.' The majority however even of the Commons, she admitted, had conducted themselves creditably; and as to the Lords, half of whose names were in Ridolfi's letter-bag, 'her Highness said that she took their diligence, discretion, and orderly proceedings to be such as redounded much to their honour and commendation, and much to her own comfort and consolation.'[1]

Her actions went with her words. She consented to all the measures which had passed both Houses except one; but the Communion Bill, against which the Lords had struggled so hard, and which was identified by

[1] Journals of the Lords and Commons, reign of Elizabeth: D'Ewes.

Burghley himself with the safety of the Crown, she permitted to drop.

Possibly Elizabeth was wise. Many a wavering Catholic may have been won back to his allegiance who, had she passed the Bill, would have gone over to dis loyalty; and although had she known all the truth she would have spared the Lords the compliments which she lavished upon them, yet there was true statesmanship in her efforts to keep the peace among her subjects, and in her refusing to punish the Catholics for the act of the Pope until they had made it their own by actual treason. It was not, after all, by measures passed in Parliament that Elizabeth's crown was to be saved, and Cecil was working more effectually by other methods.

It is time to return to Ridolfi and his mission to the Pope and the King of Spain. April.

Elizabeth, it has been seen, had replied to the commissioners sent by Alva to treat for a settlement, that she would negotiate directly with his master. Sir Henry Cobham, Lord Cobham's brother, was despatched to Madrid with powers to come to terms with Philip; while Ridolfi went ostensibly to Brussels, on Walsingham's recommendation, to make arrangements for the reopening of trade.

The Duke of Alva had been long looking, as he said, for some 'ford' by which to enter effectively into the English difficulty. He had failed to find one, and notwithstanding the stolen money, the wrongs, insults, violence, indignities to which Spain had been exposed since the quarrel, he was coming round to quiet me-

thods. The threat of the Anjou marriage, if it did not alarm him as much as it alarmed the Queen of Scots, was a formidable possibility, and to prevent the chance of it was worth the sacrifice of his pride.

He was in this humour when Ridolfi arrived at Brussels to lay before him the message of the Queen of Scots and Norfolk. His plan for the invasion was as simple as on paper it seemed most promising. Eight thousand Spanish troops could be collected at Middleburg. They could be silently embarked in the transports with which the necessities of Alva's army kept the harbour crowded, and with a fair wind they would be across the Channel in a night. Six thousand would land at Harwich, two thousand would make North to Aberdeen. The Eastern counties were ready to rise; Norfolk and the Spanish ambassador would fly from London raising the country as they went; the Catholic noblemen in Scotland and the North would rise at the same moment; and two armies, each swelling like an avalanche, would advance by forced marches upon London. Lord Derby, according to Ridolfi, had undertaken to bring into the field the whole force of Lancashire and Cheshire. Shrewsbury was in the secret, and had pledged himself to protect the Queen of Scots till the army from Scotland came to her rescue.[1] As-

[1] 'El otro ejercito que viniese de Escocia vendria siguiendo de mano en mano para juntarse con los amigos que se levantaran, y de pasada llevar consigo la Reyna de Escocia, la persona de la qual se puede tener por cierta, *porque assi la promete quien la tiene en guarda* [underlined in the original], llevantandose un ejercito de la parte de Norfolk y por opposito de la parte hacia el Canal de Irlanda, llevantandose todo el pays del

sailed thus on all sides, taken by surprise and without time to raise a force for her defence, Elizabeth would be taken in a net. The Catholic religion would be restored from the Orkneys to the Land's End, and the Queen of Scots, as Sovereign of the whole island, would dispose as she pleased of the life and person of her oppressor.

In such rhetorical fashion Ridolfi prearranged the campaign. Doubtless there were elements of hope in what he said, and the conquest of England was of supreme importance for the security of the Netherlands; but the silent Duke formed no favourable opinion of the messenger, whatever attention he might pay to the message itself. He knew England too well to believe that the enterprise would be so easy. He had learnt something of the toughness of Protestantism; he had a solid respect for established governments, with a distrust equally deep of noisy explosive insurrections. Ridolfi too could not hold his tongue. He was so vain of the part which he was playing that he told his secrets to Chapin Vitelli and the Spanish generals. He struck Alva as too great a fool to have been trusted on a serious errand of such magnitude, and half doubted whether he was more than a spy of Cecil.

The letters of which he was the bearer however were genuine; the Queen of Scots' pretensions were a reality;

Conde de Derby que confina con la Wallia y son todos Catolicos: succede desto que á la Reyna Isabel se le cierra el paso de poder ir á hacer daño á la dicha Reyna de Escocia.' —*MS.* endorsed de Roberto Ridolfi. April, 1571: *Simancas.*

and were Elizabeth out of the way, something indisputably might be made of them. Were Elizabeth out of the way—this on reflection seemed to Alva to be the hinge of the matter; but the step which he contemplated was not to be risked on his undivided responsibility, and to Philip therefore he proceeded to state at length his private opinion. After sketching generally Ridolfi's proposals, he continued thus:—

'I replied that what Ridolfi suggested was full of danger; the Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland had tried an insurrection and had failed, and the Duke of Norfolk, who was to have joined them, was still in partial confinement. Ridolfi assured me that Norfolk could leave his house when he pleased, and that the Catholics would not fail a second time if the Pope and one or other of the great Powers would help them. He showed me a list of the Confederates, and he mentioned July or August as the time when the enterprise would be most easy. I asked him what they would do if the Queen married the Duke of Anjou. He said that the Queen was trifling as usual. She would never marry unless she was forced into it, and if it became at all likely, the Duke and the other noblemen would interfere.[1]

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[1] Yet Norfolk and his friends at this very time were assuring La Mothe Fénelon that there was nothing which they desired more than this marriage.

'Ledict Duc,' La Mothe wrote on the 2nd of May, 'parceque je luy avois desja faict quelque communication de ce propos, avec asseurance de la volonté de Voz Majestez vers luy et la Royne d'Escoce, m'a envoyé dire qu'il se sentoit très obligé à

'I then talked over the matter with the council of State. To Ridolfi—his commission not being addressed immediately to me—I said merely that he might assure the Duke of Norfolk and the Queen of Scots of your Majesty's goodwill to both of them; and if the Duke was really a Catholic, and the Queen of Scots was willing to marry him, your Majesty I was sure would make no objection. I charged him however as he valued their lives to keep better guard upon his tongue, and I have written to Don Juan de Cuniga,[1] to impress on his Holiness also the necessity of caution. Should the Queen of England hear of what is going on she will have a fair excuse to execute them both. I have desired Don Juan to tell his Holiness that he may rely upon your Majesty, but that he must submit to your

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Voz Majestez de la consideration qu'il vous playsoit avoir d'eulx deux en ceste affaire, auquel il m'avoit desjà faict declaration de son cœur qu'il se deliberoit avec toutz ses amys de s'y employer droictement; car se reputoit tout oultre vostre serviteur et que Monsieur vostre filz he doubtast plus qu'il ne fût obey, révéré et aymé en ce Royaulme; et a escript à l'Evesque de Ross qu'il me voulut ayder de toutz ses moyens et intelligences en ceste cause, car il cognoissoit qu'il estoit besoing d'avancer icy la reputation de la France pour bien faire les affaires de la Royne d'Escoce. Milord de Lumley, pour gaiges dela volunté du Comte d'Arundel son beau-père, du Comte de Worcester et de luy en cest endroict, m'a envoyé une bague, et m'a mandé que si je le trouvois bon, ilz s'employeroient de bon cœur et y procederoient par effectz.'—La Mothe à la Royne, Mai 2. *Dépêches*, vol. iv. To cover language of this kind, should it be carried round, Ridolfi told Alva that the Lords were playing with France till Spain was ready, lest France might withdraw its subsidies from their friends in Scotland. It did not answer. They lied to both the Great Powers, that if one failed them they might fall back upon the other; they earned only in the end the distrust and contempt of both.

[1] The Spanish ambassador at Rome.

Majesty's decision whatever it be, and that he must leave the execution of the enterprise to those who are to act in it.

'His Holiness sent some one here a while ago to press these English matters upon me. I said then that he ought not to believe that the thing was as easy as the English Catholics pretended. The difficulty was not so much in the enterprise itself as in the impossibility of any common understanding about it between your Majesty and the French. If his Holiness could have prevailed on France to leave all to us, your Majesty could at least have compelled that Queen to set the Queen of Scots at liberty, you would have provided her with a Catholic husband, and would have opened a way for the restoration of religion. I thought then that his Holiness might do something in this way if he would proceed with the necessary discretion, but I have told Don Juan to say that now it had better be left alone. Nothing which the Pope can do at present will produce good; so far from it, if a hint of what is intended reach the French Court, all will be ruined.

'But to come to details. Certain points are clear: the unhappy condition of the Queen of Scots, the ill-usage of herself and her friends, the obligation which rests on your Majesty to make an effort for the restoration of the faith in those islands, and the injuries which your Majesty and your subjects have sustained from the Queen of England—injuries which will not be redressed as long as she continues on the throne.

'All these things may be set right through the

offers which are now made to us. It will never do however simply to send our troops as these people propose, on the chance of what may follow. A large force will be required, many persons will have to be admitted into the secret, and a secret which is widely shared will infallibly be betrayed. The Queen will have the opportunity, for which she has long been looking, of putting the Queen of Scots and her adherents to death, and the blow will recoil upon your Majesty. I do not trust Ridolfi. He is a babbler. He has talked over the plan with a person here who is not a member of the council.[1] If we land and do not succeed at the first stroke, you may be sure that the Queen of England will move heaven and earth to defend herself. She will throw herself wholly upon France. She will instantly marry the Duke of Anjou, though at present nothing is further from her thoughts; and your Majesty may consider how you will then stand, with England, France, and Germany your enemies. No one should advise your Majesty to run such a risk as this.

'But there is another possibility. Suppose the Queen of England dead—dead by the hand of nature or by some other hand; or suppose the Catholics to have got possession of her person before your Majesty has interfered; the case is then altered. There would then be no danger from Anjou or any other prince; and the French will no longer suspect your Majesty of intending the conquest of England. Then you will be able

[1] A side note says, 'debe decir á Chapin Vitelli.'

to say to the Germans that you go there only to maintain the rights of the Queen of Scots against her competitors. The Duke of Norfolk says he can himself keep the field for forty days: long before that time is out we can give him the 6000 men that he asks for, and all will go well.

'Your Majesty understands. The Queen being dead—naturally or otherwise—dead or else a prisoner, there will be an opportunity which we should not allow to escape. The first step must not be taken by us, both for our sake and for theirs, but we may tell the Duke that those conditions being first fulfilled, he shall have what he wants. The enterprise will be as honourable to your Majesty as it will then be easy to execute. So confident am I of this, that if I hear that either of these contingencies has taken place, I shall act at once without waiting for further instructions from your Majesty.'[1]

Alva, it is clear, understood the business, and, if every one concerned in it had been as prudent as he, the result might have been something considerable. He dismissed Ridolfi with such cautions as he described to Philip, to pursue his journey to Rome, and he himself at his leisure made arrangements to move on the instant, if the opportunity for which he waited should present itself. Had Norfolk possessed sufficient spirit, the Queen might perhaps have been taken at the open-

[1] Alva to Philip, April 7, 1571: *MSS. Simancas*

ing of the Parliament; the occasion was not lost so long as the session lasted, and Ridolfi thought it desirable to let his friends know before he left the Low Countries what the Duke had said to him.

There happened to be at Brussels at this time a certain half Scot half Fleming, named Charles Baily, one of those many young men who were carried away by enthusiasm for the Queen of Scots; who speaking English and French perfectly well, was employed by the Bishop of Ross to conduct the communications between the refugees and their friends at home. When Ridolfi took leave of Alva, Baily was on the point of leaving for England with letters from Sir Francis Englefield, Lady Northumberland, and the Earl of Westmoreland, and with a number of copies of the Bishop of Ross's book in defence of Mary Stuart's title, which the Bishop wished to distribute while Parliament was sitting. A safe messenger being thus ready to his hand, Ridolfi wrote to the Bishop of Ross, and with singular imprudence, when one letter would have answered his purpose, he enclosed others containing the same dangerous secret to the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Lumley. Each of the three was in cipher, but either by accident or further carelessness he sent the key with them on a separate sheet, and the only precaution which he observed was to cipher the addresses of the two noblemen, in figures which had been arranged with the Bishop while he was in England.[1]

[1] The letters to Lumley and Norfolk were addressed to 30 and 40.

With this perilous addition to his burden Charles Baily sailed for Dover. There were spies everywhere and on every one. He had no sooner set foot on shore than a hint was given to an officer to search his baggage; the letters and books were found, and he and they were sent under guard to Lord Cobham, the Warden of the Cinque Ports, who was in London for the session.

Cobham's house was in Blackfriars. While the prisoner was being taken thither, intimation was sent to the Bishop of Ross that a person had been arrested with some mysterious papers enclosed under cover to himself; and the Bishop, not knowing his precise danger, but feeling only the possibility of a tremendous discovery, first thought of throwing himself upon La Mothe, telling him as much as he dared, and asking him to claim the enclosures as his own. On reflection it seemed better to trust to Cobham himself, whose name was in Ridolfi's list, and to wait to see what Cobham would do.[1]

It was the evening of the 10th of April, when the Commons were in full discussion of their Communion Bill. Baily, when brought before the Warden, was again searched. The alphabet of the ciphers was found wadded in his coat at the hollow of his back; the books were manifestly dangerous; and according to his own story, which must be received with suspicion, Lord Cobham was preparing to discharge his natural duty and lay what he had discovered before the council. His

[1] Confession of the Bishop of Ross, October, November, 1571: MURDIN.

brother Thomas Cobham, however, who had escaped hanging for his atrocities in the Bay of Biscay, and had taken now to conspiracy and Catholicism, happened to be in the room; the prisoner contrived to let him know by signs that the letters were of consequence; and young Cobham, taking the Warden apart, 'threw himself in tears at his feet,' and told him that if the packet was taken to the council the Duke of Norfolk was a dead man. Lord Cobham said that at first he refused to listen. He put the letters in his pocket, and with the books and other papers in a bag he crossed the river to Cecil's house. On the way his heart failed him. He left the bag with Cecil; he said nothing of the letters, but carried the packet back to his house, and 'being again importuned by his unhappy brother,' he sealed it and sent it to the Bishop of Ross, desiring him to come the next day to Blackfriars and open it in his presence.[1] As it had been seen by the searchers, the Warden knew that he would be called upon to account for it. He could but give the Bishop a few hours to do the best that he could.

The Bishop, with the packet in his hands, instantly possessed himself of the dangerous letters, and then, creeping across in the darkness to Don Guerau, he composed, with the ambassador's assistance, another set of ciphered papers sufficiently tinctured with disloyal matter to satisfy Cecil's suspicions, while all that touched the real secret was kept out of sight. A copy of the

[1] Notes of Lord Cobham's confession, in Cecil's hand, taken October 14: *MSS. Domestic, Rolls House.*

Bull of excommunication was introduced, an old letter from Mary Stuart to Don Guerau, another to Mary Stuart herself from an Italian in the Netherlands, and two from some one else to the French ambassador. The malcontent tone which characterized the Queen of Scots' secret correspondence was carefully preserved; one or more of the letters were written in the cipher which Charles Baily had brought over, and the Bishop detained the key, intending to produce it with affected reluctance when it was asked for. Norfolk's and Lumley's letters were then conveyed to their address, and the Bishop, in the belief that he had done the work effectually, ventured to write himself to Burghley to say that a packet of letters had been brought over for him by one of his servants, that the servant had been arrested, and the letters detained. He trusted that Burghley would assist in recovering them for him. He did not know what the letters might contain, 'but if they came to his hands, no one of them should be used except as Burghley should think good.'[1]

It was a dexterous performance—perhaps too dexterous—especially the last stroke of it. Cecil was better informed of what was passing underground than the Bishop supposed. The capture of Story was but one instance of the adroitness of his agents on the Continent. His spies, in the disguise of refugees, were to be met with at the Earl of Westmoreland's dinner-table, and in the closet of Lady Northumberland. Men who had

[1] The Bishop of Ross to Lord Burghley, April 12: *MSS.* MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

been out in the rebellion compounded for their pardon by betraying their friends, and Cecil had already heard from Flanders that mischief of some kind was in the wind.[1] The Bishop's books unquestionably were meant to cause a stir on the Succession question, besides containing 'many manifest lies.' The forged packet was duly sent to him, and no suspicion was at first entertained that a trick had been played; but Charles Baily was committed by Cecil's orders to the Marshalsea, and means were taken to probe something deeper into his secrets.

Statesmen who have to grope their way among plots and treasons soil their hands with the instruments which they are compelled to use. Among the persons who had been arrested and sent to London after the rebellion was a dissolute cousin of Lady Northumberland, named Thomas Herle. Poor, cunning, and unprincipled, and connected by birth with the high Catholic families, this Herle was willing and able to be useful. He was confined under warrant from the council in the Marshalsea, apparently as a political prisoner, his occupation in any other capacity being known only to Cecil and himself. He was treated at times with exceptional severity—examined often before the council, heavily manacled, and sometimes, to sustain his character with greater completeness, he was threatened by Cecil with the rack—and all the time he was employed in winding himself into the confidence of his fellow-prisoners, as a

[1] Letters of John Lee to Cecil, February, March, April, 1571: *MSS. Flanders.*

common sufferer in the same cause with them. He was an object of interest to the Bishop of Ross, who had been melted to tears by the report of the weight of his irons. He had been in communication with the Bishop. He had been in communication with Don Guerau. His last creditable duty had been to find a person who could be trusted to go to Flanders and kidnap or kill the Earl of Westmoreland.[1] A hint from Cecil set him at once upon the new arrival. The prisoners had access to each other during the day, and sometimes at night. Charles Baily, friendless, desolate, terrified, warmed at the friendly voice of a companion in misfortune and an acquaintance of the Bishop of Ross; and Herle was able to tell Cecil, in a few hours, that 'he had in his hands the most secret minister in all the ill practices in Flanders.' There was a mystery about the letters which he had not yet fathomed, but he said that he would soon learn all that was in him. 'Baily was fearful, full of words, glorious, and given to the cup, a man easily read.'[2]

The Bishop of Ross meanwhile, knowing that he must expect to be questioned, had arranged the story which he intended to tell. He meant to say that his mistress, against his own advice, had been applying to

[1] No other meaning can be forced upon his words. 'Touching Ramsden,' Herle wrote to Cecil, 'no doubt he is an apt man to do some great feat against the Earl of Westmoreland or any other, if he be cherished, which may not only discourage a rebel when he is nowhere safe from his prince, but express a wonderful vigilancy in every action that her Majesty and your Lordship doth intend.'—Herle to Burghley, April 11: *MSS.* MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

[2] Herle to Burghley, April 11 *MSS.* MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

France and Spain for assistance to put down what she called the Rebellion in Scotland. He would gain credit by the seeming importance of the confession, while, though Elizabeth might be angry, she could not justly complain. Scotland was not hers, nor had she yet recognized any other authority there but the Queen's. But it was essential that he and Baily should tell the same story; and as suspicion might be provoked if he moved in the matter himself, Don Guerau sent a servant to the Marshalsea to ask permission to see the prisoner under pretence of inquiring after the missing letters. The servant went, but did not return. Foreseeing something of the kind, Cecil had given orders that any person coming to inquire for Charles Baily should be detained. An Irish priest whom the Bishop next employed was equally unsuccessful, and, as Cecil hoped, recourse was then had to Herle. By steady attention, by lamentations over the growth of heresy, by expressions of indignation at the hanging of the Archbishop of St Andrews, the wretch had won Baily's confidence, and as he had confederates outside the prison who were permitted to see him, he became the channel of intercourse between the Bishop and the prisoner.

The letters each way passed through Cecil's hands. They were in cipher, but were carefully copied, and were then passed on to their address. Could they be read they would tell all which he desired to know; but he could not trust them out of his hands, and the characters baffled his skill. He consulted Herle, and

Herle suggested that if he could be allowed to leave the prison, Baily might trust him with a verbal message; he would 'then enter into more familiarity with the Bishop,' and might learn much.[1] Before this could be done however the keeper of the Marshalsea would have to be admitted into confidence, and that could not be thought of. The best hope was that Baily might be brought to use Herle as his secretary, and trust him with the ciphers, or that Herle might otherwise catch him with some skilful question. The doors of the sleeping cells in the prison were left occasionally unlocked. One night, in the small hours, the spy stole out of his bed and crept to Baily's side. He woke him, and whispered that he had a letter for him from the Bishop of Ross, which he had concealed and could not find till daylight; but the Bishop, he said, wanted meanwhile to know whether the council had examined him about the books which he had brought over, or if they had questioned him about his dealings with the refugees. The two points were ill selected, for Baily, in the ciphered letters, had given the Bishop full information on both of them. Herle heard his teeth chatter in the dark, and felt the bed tremble. 'What!' he said, 'had not my Lord his letters, then, wherein I answered Yes?' He felt that he was betrayed, and not a word more could be extracted out of him, only cold answers, and assertions that he knew nothing of refugees.[2] The next morning, the forlorn creature

[1] Herle to Cecil, April 22: *Cotton. MSS.* CALIG. iii.
[2] Herle to Burghley, April 24.

attempted to warn the Bishop that Herle was false.[1] This note also was intercepted, and not being in cipher, showed Burghley that if he wanted more information he must try other means. Baily was removed from the Marshalsea to the Tower, where he was confined 'in a cave' 'rheumatic and unsavoury,' foul with the uncleansed memorials of generations of wretches who had preceded him there, 'without a bed,' and 'with only a little straw on the moist earth-floor to lie upon;' the wardens answering to his complaints that 'they provided prisoners only with place and room;' 'beds and other necessities' they must obtain from their friends.[2]

But this was not the worst. Burghley meant to make Baily speak, and to use whatever means might be necessary to break his spirit. He sent for him, laid his ciphered letters to the Bishop of Ross before him, and required him to read them. He said he could not, and pretended that he had lost the alphabet. Burghley sternly told him that he was lying, and that if he would not confess he should be tortured.[3] It was no idle threat. From his cave, to which he was remanded, he once more sent a few words to the Bishop of Ross. He implored the Bishop to save him from La Gehenne, or he was 'lost for ever.' The Bishop rushed to the council, claimed Baily as his servant, and insisted on

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[1] Charles Baily to the Bishop of Ross, April 25 (evening). Misdated by Murdin, April 22.

[2] Charles Baily to the Bishop of Ross, April 26: *MSS.* Queen of Scots.

[3] Baily to the Bishop of Ross, April 29: Murdin.

his privilege as ambassador. Finding no comfort there, he let fall, when he returned to his house, a passionate expression 'that those who lived a month would see strange changes.' To keep up Baily's spirits he sent him a note to entreat him to be firm, to bid him 'comfort himself in God, and remember the noble heroes who had suffered death rather than betray their masters.'[1] The treacherous messenger carried the paper, and the report of the Bishop's words, to Cecil, and the following brief order was sent to Sir William Hopton, Lieutenant of the Tower:—

May.

'You and Edmund Tremayne[2] are to examine Charles Baily concerning certain letters written by him in cipher from the Marshalsea to the Bishop of Ross. You will ask him for the alphabet of the cipher, and if he shall refuse to show the said alphabet, or to declare truly the contents of the said letters in cipher, you shall put him upon the rack; and by discretion with putting him in fear, and as cause shall be given afterwards, you shall procure him to confess the truth with some pain of the said torture.'[3]

A few hours later Baily was seen staggering back to his dungeon, 'scarce able to go,' 'discoloured and pale as ashes.'[4] He had told nothing, so far; but the

[1] Bishop of Ross to Charles Baily, May 1: MURDIN.

[2] Younger brother of the two Tremaynes who were killed at Havre, a man of special ability, much trusted by Cecil, whose name will be heard of hereafter in connection with Irish matters.

[3] Burghley to the Lieutenant of the Tower: *Hatfield MSS.*

[4] Herle to Burghley, May 1: *Cotton. MSS.* CALIG. iii. . . The Spanish ambassador said that, though racked, he had been more frightened than seriously hurt.

'Con haber tomado á aquel criado

experiment was to be tried again more severely, and he was left in the darkness to reflect on what was before him.

One more ingenious refinement was yet behind. Doctor Story was still in the Tower waiting for execution. It had been ascertained that Baily was unacquainted with Story's person, though he regarded him, like the Catholics generally, as a confessor and a saint. There appeared one night by the side of the straw heap on which Baily lay extended, the figure of a man who said that he was Story himself, admitted into the cell by the kindness of a gaoler, to console him in his sufferings. The deceit could be successfully maintained, for the counterfeit was Parker, the treacherous friend who had betrayed Story in Flanders. In the character of a ghostly father, and an experienced conspirator, Parker recommended Baily to dig below Burghley's mines. He persuaded him that so much was already discovered that it was useless to persist in complete denial. By deciphering his own letters he told him that he would gain credit with Burghley, while he would leave him no wiser than he was already. He might offer to be a spy upon the Bishop of Ross, while in fact he would be a spy upon the Government, and would serve the cause of the Queen of Scots more effectually than ever.[1]

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del Obispo de Ross y ver las cartas con cifra, le han dado tormento aunque no muy rezio y esta en la Torre.' —Don Guerau to Philip, May 9 *MSS. Simancas.*

[1] Baily in writing afterwards to Don Guerau to say what he had confessed, adds innocently, 'He hecho

Too happy to escape a repetition of La Gehenne under so high a sanction, the victim of this singular network of deceit fell at last into the pit which was laid before him. He gave up the keys of the cipher, which revealed at once the story of the abstracted packet, with the existence of other letters addressed to unknown persons which had missed his hands; and Burghley must have smiled as he read the passionate promises of Baily before his experience of the rack, that 'the council should get nothing from him though he was torn in pieces.' He confessed now to all that he knew. He could not tell who the persons were for whom he had brought over the letters because they were under cover to the Bishop of Ross; but he gave a sketch of the conversation which had passed between Ridolfi and Alva, so far as Ridolfi had communicated it to himself; he described the intended landing of the Spaniards in the Eastern counties, and with many entreaties to Burghley that he would keep his secret and save his honour, he undertook, if he was allowed to return into the Bishop of Ross's service, to watch his correspondence and keep copies of all letters written by or to him.[1]

todo lo que he dicho por consejo y exhortacion del Doctor Story que ha visto como he sido tratado, y estaba avisado de la manera que determinan de tratarme.'—Charles Baily to Don Guerau, May 10: *MSS. Simancas.*

Four months after we find him answering at another examination 'that his memory was so troubled with his long imprisonment and the trouble which he had with Parker feigning himself Doctor Story, and other such matters as he told him, that he was not able to write ten words together.'—*MSS. Hatfield*, September 19.

[1] Charles Baily to Burghley, May 2.: MURDIN.

Yet he was still but half false, and Parker had prepared Burghley to understand the meaning of this base offer. Baily was left in the Tower, to find himself, to his surprise, in no better favour with Cecil, and reproached as a coward by his old friends. He could but excuse himself to Don Guerau, by saying that Cecil knew already more about Ridolfi than he had himself admitted; and that except for what Doctor Story had told him, he would have suffered death rather than have confessed a single thing.[1]

The Bishop of Ross meanwhile, sick with fears that Baily would confess under the rack, had taken to his bed. He ate nothing for three days, and lay barricaded in his house, having given orders to his porter to admit no one to him. He could tell secrets which Baily could not, and the question now with Cecil was how to extract them from him. Herle's services were again therefore put in requisition. The warning against him which had been sent by Baily having been intercepted, the Bishop, though he had vague misgivings about him, had no reason to suspect him of treachery, and with judicious treatment his full confidence might perhaps be recovered. After a short correspondence, in which the stages of the farce were pre-arranged, Herle was sent for to the council, examined, and being found contumacious, was loaded with irons and threatened with torture. In this seeming extremity he wrote to the Bishop to implore his prayers, and his advice. He desired, as he told Burghley, 'to beget some kind

[1] Charles Baily to Don Guerau, May 10: *MSS. Simancas.*

of second trust in the Bishop,' and he swore that no extremity should force him to reveal anything. Appealed to thus earnestly, the Bishop sent a friend to the Marshalsea, who found Herle 'plunged into the depths of wretchedness, and lamenting that he was regarded with mistrust.' He complained of Baily, 'uttering his speech,' as he triumphantly described it, 'in such piteous forms, his irons jingling up and down by meet occasions, as the fellow wept and sobbed.'[1] Following up the favourable impression, he wrote again to the Bishop, that 'he was between the anvil and the hammer;' but whatever was thought of him, 'his right hand should play Mucius's part before he would break his faith;' 'they should rather rend his poor carcase than he would betray the least tittle of what had passed;' 'He spoke it with sorrow of mind, and he would seal it with his blood,' 'esteeming no torment greater than unjust jealousy conceived of a true friend.' With mild reproaches for the discouraging of his honest service, he said that he looked for consolation at his Lordship's hand, protesting, 'that for any that would maintain he was dealing otherwise than honestly, he would make them liars in their throats.'[2]

The Bishop was taken in to the extent of again believing Herle to be honest; but the rascality was thrown away so far as practical results arose from it. Baily had told all which Cecil desired to hear, except the

[1] Herle to Burghley, April 29: *MSS.* QUEEN OF SCOTS.

[2] Herle to the Bishop of Ross, April 29: *MSS.* MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

names of the English noblemen designated by the ciphers, and these the Bishop saw no reason for trusting to Herle's curiosity. Other and more honourable measures therefore had now to be substituted. On the 13th of May, Sir Ralph Sadler, Lord Sussex, and Sir Walter Mildmay repaired to the Bishop's house. He was obliged to admit them, and he was then questioned on his servant's confession. He was required to tell what he knew about Ridolfi's mission. His previous story served him in good stead. Ridolfi, he said, had carried a petition from his mistress to the Duke of Alva, the Pope, and the King of Spain for assistance against the rebels in Scotland. He was asked to explain the ciphers 30 and 40.[1] He first denied any recollection of them. Then he said that 30 was the Spanish ambassador, and 40 was his own mistress. The examiners inquired what had become of the letters which had been addressed in these figures. He said that he had burnt them. They asked why, and he could give no explanation.[2] They knew that he was not telling the truth, but the rack could not safely be applied to an ambassador, especially on mere suspicion, nor could Cecil venture prudently to commit him to the Tower. His papers were sealed up, his servants separated from him, and he himself placed under the charge of the Bishop of Ely, to whose house in Holborn he was soon after removed. That he had given a false account of the figures was easily ascertained. Don Guerau was asked

[1] The addresses on Ridolfi's letters to Norfolk and Lumley.

[2] Examination of the Bishop of Ross, May 13: MURDIN.

whether he had ever been designated by the cipher 30 Ignorant of what the Bishop of Ross had said, he answered that he had not. The Queen of Scots was examined at great length whether she had sent any message by Ridolfi, whether she had heard from Ridolfi, and whether she was the cipher 40. She too, knowing as little as Don Guerau, declared boldly that she had sent no message by Ridolfi, that she had never heard from Ridolfi, and had no cipher of any kind in which she corresponded with Ridolfi. Finding however by the questions which were put to her that something had been discovered, she was ready-witted enough to say that the Bishop of Ross might have arranged a cipher in her name which she did not know; and when Shrewsbury asked her further whether she had written to the Pope or to the King of Spain, she replied boldly, that finding herself without hope of support in England, she had written to all foreign princes for aid against her rebels.[1]

But Burghley knew from the confession of Baily that more was meant than aid in Scotland. The contradictions in the several stories taught him to distrust them all, and he found other means, as will be seen, more successful to find the bottom of the conspiracy. The Bishop of Ross was left in imprisonment. Mary Stuart was placed under stricter guard; her servants were locked out of her apartments at night, and only allowed to return to her after daybreak. The real

[1] Shrewsbury to Burghley, May 18: *MSS.* QUEEN OF SCOTS.

Story, the farce having been played out in the Tower, was hanged. Don Guerau claimed him as a subject of Philip. Elizabeth answered that the King of Spain might have his body if he wished for it, but his head should remain in England.[1]

The investigation had been simultaneous with the sitting of Parliament, and they came to an end together. The discovery that she was surrounded with treason now rendered it imperative upon Elizabeth to come to a distinct resolution upon her proposed marriage with the Duke of Anjou. The more it was pressed upon her, the more she hated the thought of it. The mocking world outside believed that she was only trifling; yet among her many changes, her own ministers were unable to discover her real wishes.

Here too, as in so many other matters, the historian finds himself staggering among quicksands of falsehood. Burghley and Walsingham alone are to be depended upon as saying what they meant. Some points however can be made out with an approach to certainty.

Both the principals first of all detested the marriage in itself, although the force of the political reasons in its favour was felt by each of them. Elizabeth herself believed that when the Duke found himself the husband of 'an ugly old woman,' he would give her *ung brevage de France* which would leave him a happy widower in six or seven months. He would then marry the Queen of Scots and be King over the whole island.[2]

[1] La Mothe, June 9: *Dépêches*, vol. iv.
[2] La Mothe, May 2; *Dépêches*, vol. iv.

Anjou, on the other hand, in his confidential moments repeated his suspicions of Elizabeth's character, and when there seemed to be a hope that the objections would be found insuperable did not conceal his delight.[1]

The position so far was not a hopeful one, but the interests at stake were so tremendous, and the pressure exerted upon both Queen and Prince was so heavy, that Anjou was ready to yield, and Elizabeth at times persuaded others if not herself that she might yield also. In France the fortunes of the Huguenots were supposed to depend upon the marriage. It was no hopeful sign for them that their prospects could turn upon so poor a contingency, but so they judged themselves of their own situation. The marriage was to be the keystone of a policy. If the support of England could be secured to France in a war with Spain, the jealousies of Catholics and Protestants would be superseded by a revival of the old temper of Francis and Henry. Catherine de Medici hated the Protestants, but she hated Spain more. With Elizabeth for an ally she could revenge St Quentin and extend the French frontier to the Rhine.

On the side of England the advance of the Reformation had been connected at every stage of its progress with an approach to France. The divorce of Catherine of Arragon broke up the ancient European combinations. Henry VIII. became the friend of Francis.

[1] Speaking to a lady one day about the marriage, he said, 'La Reyna mi madre muestra tener pena de que esta desbaratado mi casamiento, y yo estoy el mas contento hombre del mundo, de haber escapado de casar con una puta publica.' —Don Francis de Alava to Philip, May 11: TEULET, vol. v.

Edward was to have married a French princess: a French king had befriended the English Reformers during the Marian persecution, and in the face of the late discoveries, Elizabeth's condition appeared so 'desperate' to Walsingham and Burghley, that they were ready for their own part to agree to any terms 'rather than the matter should quail.' Walsingham especially 'challenged to himself no great judgment, but he said that if it proceeded not, he saw at hand the ruin of England;'[1] and he told Catherine that the Duke 'would be welcome there as a Temporal Messias to save them from the mischief of the civil sword.'[2] Some hundreds of letters about it were exchanged during the spring between the French and English ambassadors and their Courts and Sovereigns. The perusal of them leaves an impression that everything turned upon Elizabeth herself. Could the French Court have been satisfied that when the conditions on both sides had been drawn out and agreed to, Elizabeth would have then honestly completed the marriage, she could have asked nothing to which they would not have consented: without that preliminary certainty, they were unwilling to compromise themselves with concessions which might prove to have been made in vain.

Elizabeth's 'sincerity'—that was the point. She had admitted the general arguments in favour of the marriage, but, exactly as she had done with the Archduke Charles, she had suddenly told Walsingham that

[1] Walsingham to Burghley, May 15: *MSS. France.*

[2] Walsingham to Burghley, June 21: *MSS.* Ibid.

Anjou could not be allowed to hear mass in England; and although neither Anjou nor his mother would have allowed such an objection to have stood in their way, could they have assured themselves that if they yielded the Queen would be satisfied, they feared that it was merely an excuse, and that a fresh difficulty would be immediately raised. It was admitted on all sides that if he married Elizabeth Anjou's Catholicism would be of no long continuance. Charles IX. gave Walsingham to understand 'that he was no enemy to the Protestant religion, as, if the marriage proceeded, would well appear.' Anjou was ruled by his mother, and 'what her religion is,' Walsingham wrote to Burghley, 'your Lordship can partly guess.' M. de Foix, who was employed by Catherine to discuss matters with the English ambassador, 'swore to him using God for witness,' 'that in his conscience he thought Monsieur within a twelvemonth would be as forward to advance religion as any in England.' Monsieur himself said, 'that if England meant to proceed there was no fear that religion would prove a cause of breach;' and Walsingham concluded, 'that if the match went forward it would set the triple crown quite aside.'[1]

Yet that Anjou should formally bind himself never while in England to attend mass or confess to a priest, was a demand to which a French prince could not be expected to submit, while there was a doubt whether the uncertain object of his ambition would not flit be-

[1] Walsingham to Burghley, April 22: DIGGES. Walsingham to Burghley, June 21: *MSS. France.*

fore his grasp after all. He would affront the Catholic world in his own country and beyond it by consenting, and he would gain nothing in return; 'neither honour, credit, nor safety itself' could allow him to show Europe that he held so lightly by his creed.

Thus on this point of religion sovereigns, ambassadors, ministers continued through the spring and summer to argue up and down. The French asked whether the Queen of England 'wished Monsieur to be an atheist that he should abandon his faith at a word for mere worldly advancement.' Elizabeth in her usual formulas replied that in England faith and conscience were free; Monsieur might believe what he pleased; but the peace of the realm could not be disturbed by a license to use a service forbidden by the law.

'Her son,' Catherine answered, 'would soon be overcome by the Queen's persuasions;' the inconvenience at worst would be brief, for the Catholics everywhere felt 'that the match would breed a change of religion throughout Europe.'

Elizabeth rejoined that if the case was reversed, if she were going to France to marry Monsieur, and if the exercise of her religion would create trouble there, she would raise no difficulty on any such ground.[1] She hinted that if Monsieur would yield in form she might relieve his conscience by a private permission. La Mothe reminded Catherine that many of the English

[1] 'Que si elle avoit à aller en l'estat de mondict Seigneur et que l'exercice de sa religion y deust apporter du trouble, qu'elle s'en passeroit.'—La Mothe, May 10: *Dépêches*, vol. iv.

nobles had mass in their houses, the Queen shutting her eyes to it. The ambassador could accommodate Monsieur at his chapel, or if the worst came to the worst he could cross the Channel now and then to Boulogne: Philip when he wished to be devout withdrew from Madrid to Segovia, and Boulogne was at least as easy of access from London; nay, as Monsieur would not be called on to declare himself a Protestant, the Pope might be brought to give a dispensation to secure a titular Catholic husband for the heretical Queen.[1]

June. To the English ministers on the other hand the Duke's request was so modest that it did not seem worth disputing; he asked only, like the Archduke, to have a priest now and then privately in his closet; the people should neither see him nor hear of him, and in public he would appear in church with the Queen. Cecil's Protestantism was above suspicion, and Cecil saw no reason to refuse so slight a favour.

It was but too obvious that the nominal obstacle was not the real one. The French Government suggested that the religious question should stand over for a time, and that the other conditions of the marriage should be arranged first. Cecil, anxious to do anything that would help things forward, entered upon them with the Queen. He met at first with the coldest discouragement. She clung convulsively to her objection; and when she was driven from it at last, with a desperate clutch at the next plank which was floating

[1] La Mothe, July 11: *Dépêches*, vol. iv.

near her, she said that the first article should be 'the restoration of Calais.'

La Mothe exclaimed that it was plain now that she was trifling, and he gave no obscure intimation that France might be more dangerous to play tricks with than Sweden or Austria. The Emperor was far off, while a night's sail would bring the French into England. To speak of Calais, as Cecil said, could mean only that she intended 'to procure a break,' and a break of the most dangerous kind.

The council unanimously entreated her 'to forbear that toy of Calais,' and generally again urged upon her 'the prosecution of the marriage as a matter of all others most necessary.'[1] She listened, and as Burghley said, 'seemed to intend it earnestly;' she told La Mothe that she was most anxious to bring the matters to a happy termination; but as fast as one obstacle was removed she raised another, and the situation was the more embarrassing because she had herself begun the negotiation. The French might naturally conclude that she had been amusing them with proposals which she had predetermined should end in nothing, merely to extricate herself from immediate embarrassments. Probably this was not the truth: with the present, as with all her marriage projects, she perhaps hoped and expected at first that she might be able to overcome her repugnance, and only found her resolution fail her when the moment came to decide. Even yet she could

[1] Burghley to Walsingham, June 7: DIGGES.

not face her own conclusion. She wrote to Catherine and she wrote to Anjou, not committing herself to anything positive, but repeating the general declarations which she had made to La Mothe;[1] but Burghley, who knew her thoroughly, saw where all was tending, and naturally dreaded the resentment which further trifling might provoke.

'Her Majesty,' he wrote to Walsingham, 'is not unwarned how dangerous it were, if in her default the matter taketh not success, and she seemeth to conceive thereof, and pretendeth that if the point of religion may be granted, there will be no other difficulty. But whether she is persuaded that therein the breach will be on that side, and so she to escape the reproof, I cannot tell. God direct the matter, for I have done my uttermost, and so hath other councillors. My Lord Keeper hath earnestly dealt in it, and so have others This amity was needful to us, but God hath determined to plague us. The hour is at hand. His will be done with mercy.'[2]

Even Leicester had outwardly united with Burghley in recommending Elizabeth to yield;[3] and as Burghley had ascertained that Leicester had been the person who had at first urged her to stand out so peremptorily about religion, he had been at a loss to understand his conduct.[4] In public Leicester had appeared to go with

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[1] Elizabeth to Catherine de Medici, June 6; Elizabeth to the Duke of Anjou, July 9: *MSS. France, Rolls House.*

[2] Burghley to Walsingham, July 9: DIGGES.

[3] Ibid.

[4] 'It was strange that any one man should give comfort to the am-

the council so heartily, and he had spoken so warmly in private to La Mothe, that it was hard to doubt his sincerity. 'Unless,' wrote La Mothe, 'he is altogether *sans foy*, he is with us.' *Sans foy*, unfortunately, might have been the motto on Leicester's shield. While 'the poor Huguenots' were telling Walsingham in tears that an affront from England would bring back the Guises, and end in a massacre of themselves, Leicester was working privately upon the Queen, who was but too willing to listen to him, feeding her through the ladies of the bedchamber with stories that Anjou was infected with a loathsome disease, and assisting his Penelope to unravel at night the web which she had woven under Cecil's direction in the day.[1]

Anjou was growing impatient. 'Religion would not have been the let.' So anxious was Catherine for the marriage, that she was on the point of openly giving way wholly; but the Duke began to see that 'he was one of the forsaken;' and 'to yield in religion, and after to miss of their purpose, they thought would be a touch in honour.'[2] The best that Walsingham could now hope to do was to secure July.

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bassador in the cause, and yet the same man to persuade the Queen's Majesty that she should persist. Both these things are done, but I dare not affirm by any one.'—Burghley to Walsingham, May 11: DIGGES. The allusion is evidently to Leicester.

[1] 'El Conde de Leicester hace demostracion exteriormente de desear el casamiento de la Reyna de Inglaterra, mas por tercera mano hace lo contrario, habiendo hecho á entender á la Reyna por su hermana y otras mugeres que M. de Anjou estaba llagado de lepra.'—*MS.* endorsed, Por cartas de Londres de Agosto 23: *Simancas.*

[2] Walsingham to Leicester, July 27: DIGGES.

his mistress an honourable retreat, and Anjou's own pride came opportunely to his assistance.

If the thing was not to be, religion was a fair excuse on both sides; and Anjou, in fear of ridicule, determined to save his credit with the Catholics by himself making the difference of creed an insurmountable objection. He began to talk largely of his conscience. He protested that he would not marry a heretic of questionable character. The clergy and the Cardinal of Lorraine encouraged his humour, and the English ambassador now watched it growing with secret satisfaction. The Queen-mother and Charles still hoped that Elizabeth could not break off. The King swore he would make those who had dared to interfere 'shorter by the head;'[1] Catherine used all her arts with Anjou, and 'never sobbed so much since the death of her husband;' and 'Monsieur himself retired to his cabinet and bestowed half a day in shedding tears.' But 'neither the King's threatening nor the Queen-mother's persuading could draw him to proceed further.' Mass or no mass, toleration or no toleration, he refused definitely to think any more of the marriage.[2]

Nothing could have happened more conveniently. Except for this fit of temper the rejection would have come from England, and Walsingham congratulated himself that 'at least her Majesty's honour could be saved, and she could be thought to have proceeded with sincerity.' Elizabeth made a new danger for her

[1] Walsingham to Cecil, July 30: *MSS. France.*

[2] Walsingham to Cecil, July 27 · Ibid.

self. As Anjou drew back, her scruples became less, and the peculiarity of her character enabled her to persuade even herself that she had been and still continued to be willing to accept him. Had it been so indeed, Anjou could doubtless have been whistled back to the lure. But further vacillation would have been deliberate suicide. Cecil was too happy that she was creditably extricated from a dangerous position, and however anxious he still admitted himself to be for the marriage, he showed her that it was absolutely necessary for her to make up her mind.

'Should she marry with France,' he said in an elaborate paper which he laid before her, 'many things evil digested and dangerous would, by God's providence, prove easy to be ordered—the perilous causes of the Scottish Queen and Scotland, the discontent of a great number of her subjects upon sundry causes, the differences with Spain, the dangerous and unreasonable changes growing up in Ireland, and, generally, the uncertainty which obliged her to stand continually on her guard by sea and land. Her Majesty believed that a league with France would answer these purposes as well as her marriage. The league, no doubt, would be better than nothing; but it would last only as long as France was interested in maintaining it. The danger to her from the pretended title of the Queen of Scots would continue, and probably increase. The dissatisfaction of her subjects would increase also, and with it the Queen of Scots' faction. The uncertainty of the succession would divide England into parties, and the

August.

people, all alike, would become against nature careless of her Majesty's felicity. If however these considerations did not satisfy her that the marriage was absolutely necessary, if she was not positively and finally determined to go through with it, she had better leave it as it stood; she had better persist in her answer that she could not allow the Duke to have private mass, how secret soever; so it would appear that the only cause of the interruption of the marriage was the scruple of her conscience, which, being offended, she could never live in quietness. In that case she must look about her for some other means to preserve her state, surety, and life; and how her Majesty would obtain a remedy for her perils, he thought was only in the knowledge of Almighty God. If, on the other hand, for the urgent, necessary, and honourable causes many times plainly, earnestly, and at length delivered to her Majesty, she could bring herself to take the Duke of Anjou for her husband, then, no doubt, without offending her best subjects, as she had affected to fear she might do, or without seeming to consent that there should be two kinds of religion in England, means could be found to settle all conditions to the satisfaction of both countries.'[1]

The game had been played to the latest moment and was now dropped: Elizabeth talked, protested, played with the idea, and affected to be anxious that the marriage should be brought about; but she held

[1] Cecil to Elizabeth, August 31, condensed: *MSS. France.*

fast, as Cecil advised, to her plea of conscience. Monsieur was delighted to show his zeal for the faith in which he had been bred; and the French Court was left in the belief that the ultimate breach had been more on their side than on Elizabeth's. Walsingham and Cecil agreed 'to hide the imperfections of both parties, not knowing what thereafter might follow;'[1] and to Walsingham's extreme relief and partial amusement, the French King said, 'that for her upright dealing he would honour the Queen of England during his life.'

It can now be understood why she refused her consent to the Communion Bill. That measure was part of an organized Protestant policy, of which the Anjou marriage formed an essential element; and feeling that her own part in the drama was not likely to be performed effectively, she preferred to trust still to her old policy of humouring and conciliating the Catholics. In one sense she may well be pardoned for having declined to accept as her husband the miserable Henry de Valois, especially as to England no harm came from her refusal Yet Elizabeth may not be credited with a deeper insight than Burghley's, and the moral worthlessness of the Duke of Anjou could not have formed the real objection to him in the mind of a woman who had been devoted so long and so deeply to such a wretch as Leicester. Had Anjou been a second St Louis, she would have acted in the same way; and possibly also

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[1] Walsingham to Cecil, September 26; *MSS. France.*

Walsingham and Burghley were right in believing that, had the marriage taken place, the course of European history would have been different, and the power of the Papacy have been rolled back in one broad wave across the Alps and Pyrenees.

The Queen having finally discovered that she was unequal to the sacrifice which was required of her, the next step was to secure the political alliance of France: and here, for a time, the success seemed considerable. The Queen-mother flattered herself with the hope that although Anjou had proved untractable, Elizabeth might yet in time accept her third son, the Duc d'Alençon. The anti-Spanish party remained in the ascendant at Court. Count Louis, at the beginning of August, brought a petition from the Netherlands for help against Alva, and was graciously received. He had tried Elizabeth first, but Elizabeth, fearing then that she had brought a quarrel with France upon herself, was intending to make up again to Spain—as if, as Walsingham said, 'Spain would forget the injuries which it had received from her.' Count Louis had asked for 50,000 crowns, which Walsingham considered 'would save the disbursing of 300,000; but they could not be obtained'—'God,' as he said, 'at times blinding the hearts of princes, not suffering them to see the perils that hung over them.'[1]

At Paris however Count Louis found a Government more ready to listen to him. It was not now a question

[1] Walsingham to Cecil, June 30 *MSS. France.*

of money; he had come to lay the Low Countries at the feet of the French King, to ask him to assist in expelling the Spaniards, and to prevail on Elizabeth's unwillingness to induce her also to give help. In return, the Provinces might be divided—Flanders and Hainault could be reunited to France; Brabant, Gelderland, and Luxemburg to Germany, while England might have Holland and the islands at the mouth of the Scheldt.

Could the marriage have been arranged, an aggressive league with this object would have unquestionably followed between England, France, and the German Protestant States; and a European revolution would have been the inevitable consequence. Without the marriage, it was doubtful whether either of the contracting Powers would have sufficient confidence in the other to risk a breach with Spain. It had been the traditionary policy of English statesmen to embroil France with Spain, and to make their own market out of the discord of their rivals. Catherine de Medici naturally feared that Elizabeth would 'leave her in the briars,' or perhaps purchase back Spanish friendship by turning against her, unless Elizabeth had given securities for her good faith.

Nevertheless it appeared on the surface as if Catherine and Charles were willing to venture the experiment. The King desired Walsingham to acquaint his mistress with Count Louis's proposal. 'If she, being Lady of the Narrow Seas,' would go along with him, Charles offered to take his share of the enterprise, and to make

a league with England for the liberation of the Netherlands. 'It would be as much honour to Elizabeth,' he said, 'to unite Zealand to the English Crown, as the loss of Calais had been shame to her sister.'[1] There was no reason to suppose Charles insincere. The Admiral was invited to the Court. The ships of the Prince of Orange were entertained at Rochelle. When the Spaniards complained, the King replied that the Prince of Orange was a Prince of the Empire, and could not be denied the use of the ports of France; Count Louis was neither subject nor pensioner of Spain, and the Catholic King should not think he could give laws to other countries than his own.[2] 'The Queen-mother,' said Walsingham, 'is incensed against Spain, being persuaded that her daughter was poisoned.'

The ambassador however was obliged to admit that his own expectations were not shared by every one.[3] France feared that England would go over to Spain. It was equally possible that the Catholics might recover their ascendency at the Louvre, and England might be left to fight out, single-handed, a quarrel which it had entered at the side of France. To Cecil as well as to Catherine the failure of the marriage seemed fatal to an aggressive policy. Zealand and Holland might be-

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[1] Walsingham to Cecil, August 12: *MSS.* DIGGES.

[2] Ibid.

[3] 'Some,' he wrote, 'do judge these things only to be colours and to tend to some dangerous issue: but they that think so have nothing but jealousy for ground. The Admiral himself believing that good may come of his access means to proceed, laying all fear aside, and to commit himself to God's protection.'—Walsingham to Cecil, August 12: *MSS. France.*

come English provinces, but they would probably be purchased by the loss of Ireland; it was folly to risk a kingdom in possession in seeking other countries by conquest;[1] and the loss of Ireland might prove, 'in the end, the loss of all else,' for Spain would then acquire the command of the sea. 'When England and Spain were enemies, France might be accorded with Spain by practice of the Pope, and on small quarrel fall off from England.'[2] The English share of the war would be chiefly naval, 'and the loss of men and ships by tempest, shot, and fire would be most costly.'[3]

So thought Cecil, having lost heart from his mistress's inconstancy. If the French would be content with a defensive alliance, in which the German princes were comprehended, each power to assist the rest in case of invasion, that would be most welcome—but he feared that their disappointment would not incline them to so mild a policy. They would make a league if England would go along with them in a war of conquest. Otherwise, it was too likely that they would change their front and fall back on Spain.[4]

Walsingham, in Paris, where he was in daily intercourse with the Huguenot leaders, viewed the situation more hopefully. He thought that whatever Elizabeth might do or forbear to do, war between England and Spain was surely approaching; and being so, it would

[1] Objections to the league with France, August 22, Cecil's hand: *MSS. France.*

[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid.

be better, on all accounts, to give it at once the complexion of a war of liberation. When the fighting was once begun, he assured himself that the pride of France would be roused, and the Huguenots would be strong enough to prevent the desertion which Cecil anticipated. 'Another dangerous sore,' he said, 'would be remedied also;' for France, in return for the alliance, would abandon once for all the cause of the Queen of Scots. Members of the French council, in conversation with him on the subject, had confessed 'that Mary Stuart had made herself unworthy of government;' that Elizabeth 'had shown rare favour to her;' 'that their King for the future would forbear to recommend her;' and that in fact, 'his former recommendation of her cause proceeded rather for manners' sake to content others than of affection of his own, being by him thought guilty of so horrible crimes.'[1] If, on the other hand, 'the league went not forward,' the reconciliation of Spain and France 'would come about another way;' the toleration edicts would not be observed; 'religion would be clean overthrown;' 'the House of Guise would bear the sway, who would be as forward in preferring the conquest of Ireland, and the advancement of their niece to the crown of England, as the other side was bent to prefer the conquest of Flanders.'[2]

The arguments were evenly balanced; but in Cecil's mind the prospect every way was almost desperate—desperate, not through its inherent difficulty, but from

[1] Walsingham to Cecil, August 3: *MSS. France.*

[2] Walsingham to Cecil, September 26: *MSS. France.*

the combination of obstinacy and vacillation in the Queen, who was at once determined to go her own way and unable to decide which way she wished to go. He had exhausted his powers of persuasion and remonstrance. He could now but stand by, as he said, and wait for the visitation of the Almighty.

It is remarkable that while the public policy of the English Government was so uncertain, while Elizabeth believed it possible to recover Philip's friendship, and Cecil believed that if England abstained from meddling with the Low Countries she might perhaps escape being assailed at home or in Ireland, the provocations of the privateers in the Channel continued unchecked, and were allowed to assume proportions which would be incredible but for the evidence on which they rest. In the spring of the year the Prince of Orange's fleet, under Brederode and de la Mark, came down into Dover roads. There, joined by their English consorts, they held complete command of the Straits. Every Spanish vessel which attempted to pass was pursued and usually caught; a market was held in Dover for the sale of the cargoes, while some of the more daring cruisers would harass the Spanish coast, pillaging churches and convents, depreciating the price of silver by the quantities which they captured, and at their banquets, when they came back in triumph, drinking success to piracy from the consecrated vessels.[1]

[1] 'Es tanto el robo que truxéron ahora que la plata de Iglesias no se vendia sino á cinco sueldos la onça, *y con los Calices se brindaban en Dobra unos á otros*' (underlined by Philip).—Don Guerau to the King

Alva sent an armed squadron from Antwerp to burn out this nest of hornets. Brederode risked an engagement, but getting the worst of it, he drew in under the cliffs, and the English shore batteries opened upon the Spaniards, cut them up and drove them off to sea.[1] Don Guerau complained, and demanded the punishment of the officers in command. He was referred in answer to the example of Don Alvarez at Gibraltar, and was told that the English waters were a sanctuary.[2] The Spanish ships had suffered too severely to lie at sea upon the watch. They retired, with Brederode and La Mark hanging in their rear, cutting off the stragglers which had been lamed by the English shot; and the next news which came to London were that, not content with selling their cargoes, they were selling their prisoners, like the Algerine corsairs, for the chance of the ransom which they would fetch. The extraordinary spectacle was actually witnessed, of Spanish gentlemen being disposed of openly in Dover market at a hundred pounds a piece, and being kept in irons at the court-house till their friends could purchase their liberty.[3]

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of Spain, April 15, 1571; Don Guerau to Alva, April 23: *MSS. Simancas.*

[1] 'Navi jam unâ ex piraticis captâ, reliquis consternatis, subito præter spem ex Doverensi arce munitionibusque vicinis magna pilarum procella tormentis continenter emissa nostram classem dissipavit magno accepto incommodo.'—Don Guerau to Burghley, August 19. *MSS. Spain.*

[2] Don Guerau to Philip, August 23: *MSS. Simancas.*

[3] This remarkable story rests on the apparently sufficient authority of a complaint addressed by the Spanish ambassador to Burghley. The charge was openly brought and was never, so far as I can learn, denied. It will be seen that I have not overstated the purport of Don Guerau's words:—

'Mitto ad Dominationem tuam

It required no small audacity on the part of Elizabeth, when her harbours were the scene of outrages so unparalleled, to send a minister to Madrid to settle her differences with Philip. She calculated however on the notoriously extreme reluctance of the King of Spain to quarrel with her. The unlicensed violences of her subjects, if he was without the courage to resent them, might increase his anxiety for a better understanding with her; and she probably expected that Philip would submit to any conditions which she might please to dictate. She was herself uneasy at the possible consequences of her behaviour to France. She trusted perhaps to Philip's alarm at the report of her intended marriage, and she may have hoped that he would meet her overtures with an open hand. In fulfilment therefore of her promises to Alva, she commissioned Sir Henry Cobham to the Spanish Court in the spring, and he arrived there just after Philip had received the Duke of Alva's letter, and was told to expect the coming of Ridolfi. May.

The first impression of the King when he heard that an English envoy was coming, was much what Eliza-

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domesticum meum, ut te certiorem reddat de rebus quæ fœde admodum Doveri aguntur, ubi prostant publice prædæ piraticæ venales, hominesque etiam nostri a latronibus capti venduntur, neque vili valde pretio. Ad centum enim librarum summam unus et alter censi fuere, plurimique etiam ex his captivis apud Baillivium Doverensem in vinculis asservantur, interim piratis et Serenissimæ Reginæ magistratibus de illorum redemptione agentibus. Tanta est autem illic tam mercium captarum quam hominum auctio ut nullum possit esse aliud magis piratarum emporium in totâ Europâ.' — Don Gueran to Burghley, September 12: *MSS. Spain.*

both expected: the pirates on one side, and the support continually given to the Prince of Orange by the Flemish refugees who had found an asylum in England, had troubled his peace of mind. He had been taught by Alva to distrust the resources of the English Catholics, and he was ready to endure considerable humiliation if he could be relieved at once of a source of perpetual uneasiness and danger. His father's last advice to him had been to hold fast by the English alliance; and England whether Protestant or Catholic, was of equal political importance to him.

The endurance of his subjects however had been exhausted, if Philip himself continued patient. On the appearance of Cobham a memorial was presented to the King by the Spanish merchants, setting forth that, besides the losses which they were daily experiencing from the pirates, the property already taken from them by the English privateers amounted to more than three millions.[1] As the flag of Spain was no longer a protection to them, they said that they must decline for the future to fulfil their contracts with his Majesty, or make themselves responsible for the transport of further money or stores to the army in Flanders.[2]

The remonstrance of the merchants was followed by a remarkable letter from the Duke of Feria to Philip's secretary, written no doubt for the King to see, but without the constraint which must have been imposed upon his pen had he addressed himself to Philip directly

[1] 3,000,000 ducats.

[2] Address of the merchants at Madrid to the King of Spain, April 28: *MSS. Simancas.*

De Feria, with his English wife, his English friends, and his English experience, believed himself qualified to speak with authority. He had seen Cobham, and had heard what he had to say. His opinion of the situation he expressed thus:—

THE DUKE OF FERIA TO CAYAS.[1]

'*May* 10.

'We propose, I am told, to keep on terms of friendship with England; because to make ourselves complete masters of that country and of Ireland is not immediately practicable. If the Sovereign of England is not a Catholic, it will be very difficult for us to maintain that friendship; and yet, without it, we are unable to keep our hold upon the Low Countries. The Queen has found us timid, and she now thinks to frighten us by pretending that she will marry with France. She will no more marry with France than she will marry me. She is no more young, she has no strength to bear children, and she cannot live much longer. She is loathed by the nobility. She persecutes the Catholics, and she closes her ports to prevent them from leaving the realm; but for all this she has failed to break their spirit. They are stronger than ever, and she knows it. That France and England can become friends is most unlikely. The two nations instinctively hate each other, and the two Queens can never trust one another. Against us, on the other hand, they have no natural enmity;

[1] *MSS. Simancas.*

our relations with them have been uniformly good, and commerce with Spain and the Netherlands has been most profitable to them, while the French have not a friend in the realm. The whole Catholic party are on our side, consisting as it does of all the greatest families. If we do not help them in their need, we shall offend God, and we shall leave the country to the heretics. The Queen is only prevented from making open war upon us by the want of men and money; and if Cobham is not now sent away with an answer of becoming spirit, an attempt to conciliate her will only involve us in fresh troubles, and we shall have ruined the Catholics, even while they have arms in their hands to help themselves and us. Let the Queen know that our King undertakes to protect her Catholic subjects: I warrant she will no more ill use them, and there is no other way out of our present difficulties. For two years now we have been taking the coward's road, we have found it a dirty one, and it is time for us to try another. No one has a better right than I to speak of this matter: I have had much to do with the English, I know the Queen, I know her ministers, I know their ways and their resources, and I cannot conceive for what reason we are so needlessly hesitating.[1] Cobham called on me the morning on which he arrived. He brought me most loving messages from the Queen, and remained some time with me.

[1] De Feria's effective metaphor does not bear a closer translation. His words are:

'No se porque nos meamos en el vado tan sin porque.'

The phrase 'mear en el vado' is no longer in use in Spanish. It means however obviously that the ford of a river is no place to stop in for purposes which can be attended to elsewhere.

But I could get nothing from him of any consequence, except entreaties that I would exert myself for the restoration of trade. He left me more assured than ever that this is not the time for us to turn our backs upon the Catholics. If we are not prompt in moving we shall find ourselves in a dilemma from which there will be no escape. Tell the Lords of the council from me, to be careful what they do or say.'

The English envoy seems to have been wholly unprepared for the temper with which his arrival was received. The Spanish Government considered themselves beyond comparison the party most aggrieved. Cobham presented himself merely with a list of complaints against Philip and his ministers. The Queen, he said, had desired above all things to remain on good terms with Spain. The Duke of Alva, without the smallest provocation, had arrested the English ships and goods in the harbours of the Low Countries. He had since attempted to arrange the quarrel, but his proposals had been such as the Queen could not honourably accept; and meanwhile, both at Madrid and at Brussels, English traitors were received with open arms, and treated with marked consideration. He was directed by his mistress to say, that she declined to correspond with the Duke of Alva any longer on these subjects. She requested his Majesty to discuss them immediately with herself. If his Majesty would banish Sir Thomas Stukely from Spain,[1] and if he would send orders to Flanders for the immediate

[1] Stukely's story will be told hereafter. He had come from Ireland to ask for help in an intended insurrection there.

dismissal of the refugees, the differences between the two countries could be satisfactorily adjusted, and the arrested property on both sides be restored.

Elizabeth as the wife of the Duke of Anjou might have held this language with success. Resting as it did upon a mere threat of a marriage which no one out of England expected to see fulfilled, and coming simultaneously with an offer which promised to place Elizabeth and her throne at Philip's mercy, the insolence of it was too much for the already sorely tried Castilians. The sluggish blood of the King himself ran quicker in his veins when he was required to refuse even common hospitality to the Catholic exiles.

The council sat for a week to consider their reply. Their discussions were submitted day after day to the King, and returned with his comments on the margin. Their resolution shaped itself at last into the following form:—

'The envoy had come to treat with the King in person. The King should decline to hear or speak with him on any public matter. The envoy should be informed privately that his complaints and demands were alike preposterous. The disputes had notoriously commenced in the seizure of the Spanish treasure; and while the English harbours were dens of pirates from which the King's revolted subjects preyed upon his commerce, while the crews were recruited from English subjects, and guns and powder supplied to them from English arsenals, to make a grievance of the residence of a few persecuted Catholics in the King's dominions was intolerably monstrous.'

This, and this alone, ought, in the opinion of the council, to be the answer of the Spanish Government, and Philip at first wished to dismiss the envoy from the Court without so much as admitting him to his presence. When he consented at last to grant him an interview, it was to make the permission more insulting than a refusal. He was at the Palace of Aranjuez, thirty miles from Madrid. Cobham went down there, and the King saw him for a few minutes only; the common forms of hospitality were not extended to him; he was left to dine at an inn, and returned to the capital the same evening. The council thought that for the King's credit some small present might be given to him; there was no precedent for the reception of an ambassador and his departure empty-handed. But Philip, being once launched upon the bold course, was more bitter than his advisers. 'Presents,' wrote the King in a side-note, 'are given to envoys when they come on a mission of goodwill, and they are given when they come to declare war. But this man comes merely to threaten and terrify us. If we bestow a present on him he will boast of it, we shall dispirit the Catholics, and inflate the heretics with the belief that we are afraid.'[1]

De Feria in the character of an acquaintance delivered the private message. Cobham tried to argue that Alva had been the aggressor; but De Feria cut him short with saying, that he was sorry

June.

[1] 'Lo que parece sabre el negocio de Cobham.'—Aranjuez, Mayo 14 é 19: *MSS. Simancas.*

to hear an English ambassador condescend to falsehoods. Cobham asked for the answer in writing, but he could not have it, and he was then sent for by the council.

Spinosa, the Cardinal President, made a difficulty in addressing a heretic, and would have transferred the duty to a lay member of the Cabinet. The words however it was thought would come with more imposing effect from one who might be supposed to speak in the name of God as well as of man. The Cardinal therefore swallowed his scruples, and thus delivered the reply of Spain to the Queen of England:—

'If that Queen would fulfil the office of a good neighbour and friend, his Majesty had given proofs already that he would not on his part be found wanting towards her. It would please him much if the differences between the two countries could be compounded, and as a step towards it his Majesty trusted that the Queen of England would at once restore the Spanish treasure. The details of the negotiation however were committed to the management of the Duke of Alva, and to him she was referred.'[1]

With this answer and without his present Sir Henry Cobham returned to England, sick at heart with the same fears which haunted Cecil, and little dreaming then how soon he would again be at Madrid with the same message, to find the note of defiance dying away in prostration and humility.

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[1] 'Lo que parece se debe responder á Enrique Cobham de palabra, y ninguna cosa por scripto. Mayo, 1571.'—*MSS. Simancas.*

The Spanish ambassador chuckled over the dismay with which the news of his failure was received. 'My Lord Burghley's burlesques,'[1] he said, 'had gone off so well hitherto that he despised danger and thought that he had taken a bond of fortune. He with his friends had made a jest of our endurance. His conscience stings him now, but his malice is inveterate. He is given over to reprobate courses and cannot turn to any good. His Majesty is wise and will provide against their tricks, though to see through them he requires more eyes than Argus. I will do my part to make him respected, as the great Prince which he is, both by friends and enemies: but we must dissemble and be as Proteus, and hide our purposes, and they shall pay for their iniquities at last as they deserve. The audacity of Burghley in sending Cobham with such a message was indeed marvellous; but knowing them as I do, I am surprised at nothing. We must provide in time. If this French marriage or league, or both together, come about, they can do us harm in the Provinces, but as certainly we can make a revolution in England; and I have no fear, if we are only prompt enough and do not allow this French business to consolidate itself. It need seem no work of ours, but merely a rebellion in which we may be called in to assist; and before the summer is over we can transfer to their own island the mischief which they tried to work in Flanders.'[2]

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[1] The pun is Don Guerau's. 'Y como á Milord Burghley todas las burlas hasta aqui le han salido bien,' &c.—Don Guerau to Cayas, July 12: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] Don Guerau to Cayas, July 12

Once more we go back to Ridolfi, who, leaving Alva, made his way with all speed to Rome. His commission was duly delivered, and the Pope, the Cardinals, and Don Juan de Cuniga sat in conclave upon it. Pius himself was in ecstasies, eager to begin, and seeing nothing but the bright side of the prospect. Don Juan attempted to moderate his transports by pointing to France; but the Pope would listen to nothing. As Christ's vicar he was in the secrets of Providence, and he answered 'that God would manage it.' This conviction Don Juan could not interfere with. He contented himself with advising caution and with sending a careful account of Ridolfi's reception to his master: one curious point only he was able to mention, which it seems Ridolfi had told him. There was no hope that the Spanish property detained in England could be recovered by treaty, for not only those who had prompted the seizure of the treasure were unwilling to part with it, but the Catholics and the Queen of Scots intended to support them in their refusal, that they might compel Spain to go to war.[1]

But Philip now required no additional pressing. After dismissing Cobham he was only eager for Ridolfi's coming. He had learned from England that the Government was alarmed, and he was uneasy at delay as giving Elizabeth time to prepare—time perhaps to marry Anjou, or, still worse, time to make discoveries which might cost Norfolk and the Queen of Scots their

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and July 19, abridged: *MSS. Simancas.*

[1] Don Juan de Cuniga to Philip, May 11 and 17: *MSS. Simancas.*

heads.[1] The same misgiving crossed his mind at first which had occurred to Alva, that Ridolfi might at bottom be an agent of Cecil; but it passed off; Don Guerau's letter satisfied him that on this ground there was nothing to fear.

At length, the closing week of June, Ridolfi came. 'He has arrived at last,' wrote Philip, giving an account to Don Guerau of his appearance. 'I have received your letter with those also from the Queen of Scots and the Duke of Norfolk. Ridolfi has brought me also a note from his Holiness. I am most anxious to do something, not for any object of my own or for any human interest, but merely and simply for God's glory. What I can and ought to do shall be done, and I shall now decide what it is to be. You will say thus much from me to the Catholics, and bid them be secret and quiet. Oppressed and ill-treated as they have been, they may possibly be too precipitate in their thirst for vengeance and may move before the time. Tell them that of all things they must keep still till our preparations are complete; if not, they may share the fate of the two Earls; their cause will be lost, the Queen of Scots will be put to death, and all the other misfortunes which they can easily imagine will follow. I have sent a courier to the Duke of Alva to desire him at once to place himself in communication with you, and to direct you from time to time how you are to conduct yourself.'[2]

To resolve to do something was by no means the

[1] Philip II. to Don Guerau, June 20: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] Philip II. to Don Guerau, July 13.

same as to resolve what to do. Alva, it was seen, disapproved Ridolfi's method, briefly indicating another of his own; and in the council chamber at Madrid, to which Philip returned from Aranjuez in the beginning of July, there was held a remarkable discussion, the notes of which were preserved, though not intended for the curious eyes of mankind—a discussion first on the fitness, and then on the feasibility, of murdering the Queen of England.

The assassination of political enemies has an ugly sound, and in later and calmer times men of all beliefs and parties have agreed in one opinion about it. Yet, in the first place, it does not differ so very widely from a practice still in use in our dependencies, of offering a reward for the body of troublesome persons, whether quick or dead; and secondly, in that passionate 16th century it was not peculiar to creed or nation. Catholics profess abhorrence of the murder of Beton in Scotland. Protestants retort with effect by pointing to the Regent Murray, the Prince of Orange, and the black butchery of St Bartholomew. But both Protestants and Catholics might well drop their mutual reproaches; their sin was the sin of their age, the natural refuge of men who were driven desperate by difficulties which fair means would not clear away for them. Lord Sussex, in Ireland, would have murdered Shan O'Neil. Cecil, a few pages back, was seen treating with some villain for the death of the Earl of Westmoreland. In this meeting of Philip's Cabinet there was the most profound impression that they could invite the blessing of God upon the

execution of Elizabeth—that, on the whole, God would look upon it with decided approbation. There were present, Cardinal Spinosa, Ruy Gomez, famous afterwards as the Prince of Eboli, the Papal Nuncio, the Grand Prior, Alva's son, Don Ferdinand of Toledo, and the Duke of Feria. Chapin Vitelli had come across from Flanders to attend the council, with a purpose presently to be seen. The account of what passed is compendious—taken down, apparently, in shorthand—in some places confused, in others imperfect. The general drift however is intelligible, with some noticeable details.

July. On the essential desirableness of interfering, and interfering promptly, in England, the whole Cabinet was agreed. The cause was the cause of God, and the King of Spain was the person on whom the duty manifestly devolved. The Catholic party was wearing away. It would never be stronger than it was at that moment. If the Catholic Powers hung back, it would lose heart and dissolve. The Queen of England might marry the French Prince, and heresy would become too powerful throughout Europe to be afterwards put down. The broad principle was plain; the details were less easy to settle. Alva, who was supposed to have crushed the rebellion in the Low Countries, had long solicited his recall, preferring to leave to other hands the work of reconstruction and reconciliation. The Duke of Medina Celi had been chosen for his successor; but with the usual slowness of Spanish movements, the preparations for the change were still incom-

plete. It was thought however that with an effort the intended arrangements could be hurried forward. It could be represented that Alva's troops required to be relieved, as well as their general, and without exciting a suspicion a second army and a large fleet could then be collected, under pretence of accompanying the new Viceroy. The army in the Netherlands, in the same way, could be marched to the ports, as if to embark for Spain; and the money for the English campaign could be provided, also, as if for the necessities of the Brussels treasury. So far no great difficulty was anticipated. Twice the number of men for which Norfolk asked could be landed in England with ease; but the question next arose, what reason they were to allege to the world for their appearance there? what proclamation were the Spaniards to put out? what were they to announce that they were come to do?

The Nuncio at once took upon himself to answer. Like his master, he made light of difficulties. He believed that twelve legions of angels would accompany the expedition. The one sufficient pretext, he said, was in the Bull of Excommunication. The Vicar of God had deprived Elizabeth of her throne. The soldiers of the Church were the instruments of his decree, and were executing the sentence of Heaven against the heretical tyrant.

The Spanish ministers were loyal members of Holy Church. Alone among Christian Sovereigns, the Spanish King had upheld in the Mediterranean the Cross against the Crescent, and was still performing, single-

handed, the duties in which every baptized prince had once sought and claimed his share. Philip II. was the one Crusader that survived in Europe; but change of times had not left even Spain untouched by the modern spirit. Popes had more than once shifted sides in the long war with France, and an unconditional recognition of their claims to dispose of kingdoms was no longer convenient. The border could not be defined precisely of that cloudy debateable land where the temporal and spiritual powers passed one into the other; but the Catholic King himself could not allow the two provinces to be co-extensive, or seem to sanction the pretensions of the Holy See to depose sovereigns or absolve subjects from their allegiance. The Bull had been issued without Philip's knowledge; it had not yet been published in Philip's dominions; and, as the Duke of Feria observed, some Pope of the future might trouble Spain with similar assumptions.[1] Even the Cardinal Spinosa preferred national to ultramontane interests, and the Nuncio's proposal was politely waived on the plea that it would needlessly complicate the problem; that it would defeat the plan of the Duke of Norfolk, and be a signal for a general league between all the heretics in the world. The justification, it was soon concluded, should and could be only the Queen of Scots' claim on the succession to the crown, which the Queen of Eng-.and unjustly refused to recognize. Even the wrongs of Spain were to be passed over in silence. The King

[1] 'Peligroso hacer la empresa en nombre de su Santidad, porque para lo de adelante vendria otro Papa que quisiese mezclarse con nosotros.'

should appear in the matter solely as the champion of a princess who was injured and oppressed. This being determined, the next point was the time and manner of the invasion. Should Spain begin? or should the English Catholics begin? The English Catholics wished to see Spain commit itself before they ventured another insurrection. The Duke of Alva had insisted that they should first do something for themselves, and the Spanish Cabinet were of the same opinion. Ridolfi, who was admitted to the council, reproduced the scheme which he had laid before the Duke? but the Duke's letter was at hand, to be considered by the side of it; and it was thought certain that any such step as Ridolfi proposed would bring France into the field. The Nuncio said that the Pope would undertake for France; but the Pope's temperament was more sanguine than judicious; and thus the question narrowed down to the ground taken by Alva. The key of the situation was Elizabeth's life. The Catholics would make nothing of an insurrection while the Queen was alive and at large. She must either be killed or captured. That, in Alva's opinion, should be the reply which Ridolfi should carry back. The English must do that part of the business themselves; as soon as it was accomplished, the Spanish army should be instantly set in motion.

Yet it was felt that if they waited for this consummation they might wait long or for ever. There were traitors in plenty about the Queen. There was Leicester's accursed crew in the household, and Arundel and Crofts upon the council; but either they were faint-

hearted, or the English nature did not understand the art of murder. Spaniards and Italians could do it; Scots could do it excellently; but the English, from some cause or other, were wanting in the necessary qualities. Ridolfi, when questioned on the possibilities that way, gave unsatisfactory answers. There was not one among Norfolk's friends about the Queen who could be thoroughly relied upon for any desperate enterprise.[1] There were seven or eight noblemen however, he said, any one of whom would make the necessary opportunities, if some one else could be found to do the thing, and all would be ready to come forward afterwards. He named Windsor, Lumley, Southampton, St John, Arundel, Worcester, Montague—especially and peculiarly Montague; and Chapin Vitelli, who had come from the Netherlands for this particular purpose, now presented himself to help the council in their dilemma. They would give him credit, he said, for being disinterested, for he was going to risk his own life. He, if the matter was trusted to him, would take or kill the Queen. He knew England. He was acquainted with the noblemen whom Ridolfi mentioned. It could not be done in London; but at the end of the summer Elizabeth would go on progress. She travelled inadequately guarded. She stayed at different country houses. He would go over with ten or fifteen companions; and when she was —as she need not fail to be—the guest of Montague, or some other of the set, he would obtain access to her

[1] 'El Duque no tiene persona de los que estan con la Reyna en quien hacer fundamento.'

person, perhaps pretending some commission such as he had been sent upon before, and then and there cut the knot of all difficulties.[1] The Lords would have a force in readiness to support him. The Queen of Scots would be safe with Lord Shrewsbury: the Countess was a Catholic, and conducted that Queen's secret correspondence.[2] The Catholics would then everywhere rise, Alva would cross the Channel, and the revolution would be over before the French had recovered from their first astonishment.

The date of this notable conference agreed nearly with that of Cecil's saddest letter to Walsingham. Not without reason, Cecil believed that England's supreme hour of trial was drawing near, and but for the accident that the intended bridegroom was as reluctant as the bride, Elizabeth would have selected that particular opportunity for insulting France, and adding another enemy

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[1] 'A mí conviene començar por ellos, y matar ó prender la Reyna que de otra manera luego se casaria y mataria á la de Escocia. El punto principal que prendiesen á la Reyna. Offresce Chapin de prenderla con diez ó quince hombres en la casa de placer; que fuesen con titulo de demandar justicia; que en Londres seria dificultoso. Offrece de ir á ello en persona.

'Lo que dixó Vitelli que pues el pone la vida, bien se entendera que no le mueve interesse. . . . que el efecto se ha de hacer yendo la Reyna en progreso, y en ninguna manera en Londres, porque alli es la heregia.

'James Graffs (Crofts) es hombre para el efecto. Que en caso que se haya de hacerlo en progreso serian convenientes Montague y . . . . y en casa de algunos de los caballeros, y bastarán seys, siendo luego asistidos de otra gente: que ellos estan resueltos en despachar á la Reyna. Tienen á Clinton y James Crofts, Windsor, Lumley, Montague, Southampton, St John, Arundel, Worcester.'—Lo que se platicó en consejo sobre las cosas de Inglaterra en Madrid, Sabado 7 de Julio, 1576: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] 'Por medio della van y vienen las cartas y avisos.'

to those who were already in league against her.

The resolution of Philip's council was immediately forwarded to Alva; and Ridolfi, according to the Queen of Scots' instructions, would have gone on to Portugal. But Philip was unwilling to extend further the circle of conspiracy. If the enterprise was to succeed at all, his own troops would be sufficient, and Ridolfi's head long temper did not personally recommend him to confidence. He too was sent to Brussels to be at Alva's orders. He wrote enthusiastic letters to Norfolk, to Mary Stuart, and the Bishop of Ross, detailing his success, and forwarded them under cover to Don Guerau; but there was so much fear of a premature disturbance, that Alva ordered Don Guerau not to deliver them, forbade him to mention their arrival, or to open his lips upon the subject to any living person till further orders.[1]

The Catholic King meanwhile made such haste as he was able to fit out the Duke of Medina Celi, whom Chapin was to accompany.[2] The power of Spain was still vast, but its movements were August.

[1] Alva to Don Guerau, July 30: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] There seems to have been some uncertainty, after all, whether Philip did not withdraw his sanction of the murder. Writing on the 4th of August to Alva, he tells him simply to prepare to invade England, to assist the Catholics who were to rise in rebellion. Chapin, he says, was to command the expedition.

Alva understood this to mean that Philip would carry out Ridolfi's original proposal. He referred the King to the objections which he had already laid before him, and insisted that no force should be sent to England till the Queen was in the hands of Norfolk and the Queen of Scots at liberty.—Précis de la Correspondance de Philip II: GACHARD, vol. ii.

ponderous and slow. The Duke of Feria died in August, and with him the most ardent in the matter of all the council. Other matters too claimed attention. Don John of Austria was in the Mediterranean, getting ready for Lepanto. Too much time was already gone, and what remained of the summer was all too little for the work that was to be done. Don Guerau was growing restless and impatient. The English council, he said, suspected much, although as yet they knew but little. If the blow could be struck quickly, all would go well. The Catholics were three to one, and were all prepared. If the summer went by, they might despond again; Scotland might be conquered, the Queen of Scots killed; and Lord Hertford or the little Prince of Scotland declared heir to the throne. Other factions were fast merging in the two great religious divisions, and the longer the delay, the stronger the Protestants would grow. Above all, there was no safety while such a man as Cecil was at the head of the Queen's Government. 'Tell his Majesty,' Don Guerau wrote to Cayas, 'that Cecil is a fox, cunning as sin, and the mortal enemy of Spain. He moves in silence and falsehood, and what he will do or try to do against us, is only limited by his power. The Queen's opinion goes for little, and Leicester's for less; Cecil rules all, unopposed, with the pride of Lucifer.'

But Cecil could be rolled in the dust if only Philip would be prompt, while the fire was burning and the iron hot. On the night of the 4th of August, the Londoners were in the streets gazing at a huge arch in the

sky, which seemed to span the city, and filled their hearts with terrors of approaching change. The Catholic Don Guerau scoffed at the cowardly superstition of the enlightened and Protestant English, but he pressed his master to use the moment, and take advantage of their fears.[1]

Tried by his own standard, Philip was not working without diligence. He had meditated for two years on sending Alva to the Low Countries. He had kept his secret, matured his arrangements, and believed that he had accomplished what he desired. To be slow and silent, to take every precaution to ensure success, and then to deliver suddenly at last the blow which had been long vaguely impending—this was the Spanish method. It had answered before: it might answer again.

So Philip thought, and let the days go by. He had taken a false measure of his antagonist. It was not without reason that Don Guerau warned him to beware of Cecil.

It will be remembered that Sir John Hawkins, in his great disaster on the coast of Mexico, left the majority of the survivors of his crews in the hands of the Spaniards. Prisoners of war in all countries were considerably worse off than well-befriended felons in common gaols. The felon who had money commanded all the luxuries which the corruption of the warders could

[1] 'Puede pensar V. Mag[d] quan alborotados deben andar los de Londres que es gente muy medrosa y credula de prodigios.'—Don Guerau to Cayas, August 5; Don Guerau to Philip, August 8: *MSS. Simancas.*

provide. The prisoner of war, stripped of everything that he possessed at his capture, and far away from his friends, experienced the hardest extremities which the inhumanity of carelessness could inflict. English captives everywhere would have had no enviable lot. In Spain, and in the Spanish colonies, they fell as heretics into the hands of the Inquisition. Some of Hawkins's men had been burnt; all had been more or less tortured; and such as had not died or been murdered, had been transferred to Europe, and were lying half dead of hunger in the Archbishop of Seville's dungeons.[1] Sir John was not a virtuous man in the clerical sense of the word, but he had the affection of a brave man for the comrades who had fought at his side; and the fate of those poor fellows who had hunted negroes with him in the mangrove swamps, had surveyed the reefs in the Gulf of Mexico, and shared so many dangers and so many successes, now lying in those horrid dens at the mercy of the familiars of the Holy Office, never left his mind. Two years after his return, while they were still in Mexico, he had intended to go out in search of them. The Government, afraid of the consequences, prevented the expedition, and Hawkins, since he was forbidden to use force, determined to try what he could do by cunning. With Cecil's secret permission, he paid a visit to Don Guerau, complained of his ill-usage by the Crown, and asked whether nothing could be done for the relief of his

[1] 'Muertos de hambre,' was the admission of the Spaniards themselves.

companions. Don Guerau never lost an opportunity of encouraging discontent, and Hawkins allowed himself to be led on to speak so bitterly of the Government, that Don Guerau suggested to Alva that it might be worth while to secure the gratitude of so able and formidable a person by setting the prisoners at liberty.[1] Hawkins however was not able to secure his object so easily; nothing came of Don Guerau's suggestion; the men were not released, and it grew necessary to wade a little deeper.

About the time when Ridolfi was leaving England, Sir John intimated to Don Guerau, that he too was weary of serving an ungrateful Sovereign. He professed himself willing, if his companions were restored to him, to enter the Spanish service, and to carry over with him the finest ships and the bravest sailors in the Queen's navy. Don Guerau, who was full of the idea that three-quarters of the people were disaffected, saw nothing to surprise, but much to delight him in this communication. He had sufficient prudence not to admit his new friend to the Ridolfi mystery, but he wrote to Cayas with an account of the offer which seemed to fit providentially with the scheme of the intended invasion. The sea was Elizabeth's strongest defence, and Hawkins was the ablest commander that she possessed—given to piracy, indeed, but piracy was a common English failing, for which Spanish apathy was much to blame[2]—otherwise, bold, resolute, a

[1] Don Guerau to Alva, August 21, 1570: *MSS. Simancas.*

[2] 'Inclinado á robar como lo son todos de su nacion, mayormente

splendid seaman, and a person of station and property.

Encouraged by the ease with which the ambassador was taken in, but perhaps disappointed at the little which he had learnt, Sir John, next, contrived the more daring step of applying immediately to Philip. He sent George Fitzwilliam, who seemingly was one of his officers, to Madrid, to tell the King that his master was one of the many Englishmen who were broken-hearted at the progress of heresy; to say that, as a faithful son of Holy Church, he was waiting for the time when the Queen would be overthrown, and the crown pass to its rightful owner, the Queen of Scots; and that he himself, with his friends in the navy, were ready to do their part in bringing about that happy consummation.

The King, to whom Hawkins's reputation had long been terribly familiar, who could never read his name in a despatch without scoring opposite to it a note of dismay, who had heard of him only in connection with negro-hunting, sacked towns, and plundered churches, was more astonished then Don Guerau at an overture so utterly unlooked for. One of the pirate race, Thomas Stukely, had indeed already come over to him. Stukely was Sir John's cousin, and so far the thing was not utterly incredible; but his instinct told him to distrust the advances of Hawkins. He asked Fitzwilliam whether his master was acquainted with the Queen of Scots? Fitzwilliam was obliged to say that he was not.

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ahora, viendo que se salen con todo sinque nadie los contradiga.'—Don Guerau to Cayas, March 25, 1571.

Was he in communication with the Catholic noblemen, or with the refugees in Flanders? He had never spoken to one of them. But when Philip went on to inquire who and what he was then, and what claim he possessed to be believed, Fitzwilliam haughtily answered, that the credit of Sir John Hawkins was in his right hand, and what he said he meant. He had offered to pass over to the service of his Majesty with the English fleet. He desired nothing in return but the release of a few poor prisoners at Seville, who were not worth the cost of keeping them. The crews of the ships would follow where he led them. The King need only pay them their usual wages, and advance some small sum of money to complete the equipment of the vessels to which his own means were unequal.[1]

The thing was strange, but the very boldness and simplicity of Fitzwilliam's language was against the notion of deception. The Duke of Feria, whom Philip consulted, took his cue from his wife's[2] relations, who were enthusiastic believers in the success of the revolution. The Duke saw in the adherence of the king of the buccaneers only a fresh proof that all England was returning to the faith. Don Guerau's letters were favourable; and Philip at last listened—listened so far at least as to write to the ambassador for fuller information, and to tell Fitzwilliam that if he would return to him with a letter of introduction

[1] 'Las cosas de que Jorge Fitzwilliam ha de traer claridad.' April, 1571: *MSS. Simancas.* Respuesto á los Articulos: Ibid.

[2] Jane Dormer, one of Queen Mary's maids of honour.

from the Queen of Scots, and with a precise and exact account of what was to be done, his master's propositions should be favourably received, and money also should not be wanting to put the fleet in good order. Not a hint had been dropped by the cautious King about the meditated invasion; but the Duke and Duchess of Feria were less cautious. They talked over with Fitzwilliam the possible achievements which Hawkins might accomplish. They trusted him with letters and presents to the Queen of Scots, giving him the excuse which he wanted for being introduced to her; and with these, and with the information at least that the King of Spain was willing to encourage the desertion of the fleet, he returned to England a little before Sir Henry Cobham. He had gone over merely to dupe Philip into letting go the prisoners. Before he came back the arrest and examination of Charles Baily had sharpened Cecil's suspicions, and more might now be made of the original purpose of the deception. If followed up, it might lead either to Hawkins being admitted into the whole secret of the conspiracy; or, if the trick was discovered, he would at the worst discredit other overtures from English disloyalty, and make Philip doubt whether it was not all treachery together. Thus it was decided to go on. Hawkins was bent on recovering his friends, and Cecil on unravelling the mystery of which Baily had revealed the existence, but had left but half explained. The important thing was now to obtain the letter of introduction from the Queen of Scots.

In this there was an unexpected difficulty. Fitzwilliam went down to Sheffield to deliver the packets from the Duke of Feria. The Queen of Scots had been kept close prisoner since the confession of Charles Baily, and Shrewsbury had been commanded to allow no one to have access to her, except with an order from the Government. It was not safe to admit Shrewsbury into the secret of Hawkins's treachery, and unless Fitzwilliam could sustain his character of a *bonâ-fide* Catholic conspirator, the Queen of Scots would be on her guard.

Hawkins consulted Cecil.[1] The release of the prisoners, which was Hawkins's principal object, was considered a sufficient excuse to cover the application. Cecil wrote to Shrewsbury, saying merely that some poor friends of Fitz- May. June.

[1] 'Your good Lordship may be advertised that Fitzwilliam has been in the country to deliver his tokens, and to have had some speech with the Queen of Scots, which by no means he could obtain. Wherefore he hath devised with me that I should make some means to obtain him license to have access to her for her letters to the King of Spain for the better obtaining of our men's liberty, which otherwise are not to be released; which device I promised him that I would follow, and that if it shall seem good unto your Lordship he may be recommended by such credit as to your Lordship shall seem best; for unless she be first spoken with and an answer from her sent to Spain, the credit for the treasure cannot be obtained. If your Lordship think meet that Fitzwilliam shall be recommended to speak with her, if I may know by what sort your Lordship will appoint, there shall be all diligence for his despatch used, and hereof I humbly pray your Lordship's speedy resolution.

'Your good Lordship's

'Most humbly to command,

'JOHN HAWKINS.

'The Right Honble

May 13. The Lord BURGHLEY.'—*MSS.* QUEEN OF SCOTS, *Rolls House.*

william were dying in a Spanish dungeon, and that a letter from the Queen of Scots might induce Philip to let them go. Fitzwilliam was then admitted to a private audience. He delivered the letters from the Ferias, and the Queen of Scots, little dreaming that she was being made the instrument of a plot by which her own hopes were to be destroyed, said good-naturedly 'that she must pity prisoners, for she was used as one herself, and that she would do any pleasure she could to relieve an Englishman.'[1]

Suspecting no treachery in a friend of the Duchess of Feria, Mary Stuart talked with much unreserve to Fitzwilliam. Fitzwilliam told her about Hawkins and his offer to the King of Spain, and she, on her part, wrote to Philip at once in his favour. Don Guerau was delighted at so important an acquisition to the Catholic cause, and told the King that he might expect service from Hawkins of infinite value,[2] while Hawkins sent the Queen of Scots' letters to Cecil to be examined, with a list of the presents which in her innocence she had trusted to the false hands of Fitzwilliam for her Spanish friends,[3] and inquired whether it was Elizabeth's pleasure that he should pursue the game further.

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[1] Shrewsbury to Cecil, June 3: *MSS.* QUEEN OF SCOTS.

[2] Don Guerau to Philip, June 15: *MSS. Simancas.*

[3] 'Fitzwilliam is returned and hath letters from the Queen of Scots to the King of Spain, which are enclosed with others in a parcel directed to your Lordship. He hath also a book sent from her to the Duchess of Feria with the old service in Latin; and in the end hath written this word with her own hand:—

"Absit nobis gloriari nisi in cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

"MARIA R."

—Hawkins to Burghley, June 7: *MSS.* QUEEN OF SCOTS.

If it was thought good by her Majesty that he should proceed, there was no doubt, he said, but various commodities would follow:—'The practice of the enemy would be daily more and more discovered; there would be credit gotten for a good sum of money; the same money, as the time should bring forth cause, should be employed to their own detriment; and the ships which should be appointed as they would suppose to serve their own turn might do some notable exploit to their great damage.'[1]

No very creditable correspondence, on the face of it, between Elizabeth's greatest minister and England's ablest seaman: the Queen of Scots was being betrayed through her good nature, and Philip was to be duped into dependence upon a pretending traitor, and to be relieved at all events 'of a good sum of money' by a process which resembled swindling. Hawkins doubtless took a keener interest than Cecil in the money part of the transaction. He maintained that the King of Spain was in his debt to the full value of the ships and property which had been destroyed in Mexico, and that he was doing no more than recover what justly belonged to him. Cecil was soiling his hands for no such sordid purpose. He was in search of secrets of state of tremendous moment, and treachery in extreme exigencies becomes but the legitimate feint of a general in the presence of the enemy. Fitzwilliam returned to Madrid with as little delay as possible. He found the

[1] Hawkins to Burghley, June 7: *MSS.* Queen of Scots.

King in the credulous flush of excitement which followed the resolution of the Cabinet on the 7th of July. The murder of Elizabeth had been decided upon, the instrument chosen and sent upon his errand. England was to be recovered to the Church and the penitent Hawkins was accepted as the first fruit of the national conversion. The letters of the Queen of Scots removed every doubt that remained. The sailor captives were set at liberty and sent back to their country each with ten dollars in his pocket to atone for his sufferings. Fitzwilliam was introduced to the Cabinet, and explained at length his master's views. Sir John Hawkins, he said, was struck with horror at the condition to which his country was reduced. Heresy and tyranny were alone dominant there in frightful combination, and the Queen of Scots was the only hope that good men saw remaining. She had so many friends that if the King of Spain would but say the word the work of raising her to the throne could be done with ease and safety. Sir John himself had but to sail up the Humber with half-a-dozen ships, land the crews and proclaim her Queen, and the whole nation would declare for her.

August.

Mary Stuart in her letter to Philip had said, after all, less than Hawkins wished, and had confined herself to generalities. Fitzwilliam explained her reserve by saying that he had himself seen and spoken with her, and she had told him to say that her correspondence was watched and that she dared not write more than a few words. Hawkins himself however, Fitzwilliam

stated, had 16 vessels, 1600 men, and 400 guns, all at his Majesty's disposition, ready to go anywhere and to do anything which his Majesty might command so as it was in the Queen of Scots' service. For himself Sir John asked for nothing save pardon for the sins which he had committed in the Indies. He would cover the preparation of his ships by pretending that he was going to serve with Count Louis in an expedition against the Spanish coast. The Queen would give him leave and would fall into her own pit. He desired only to have the fleet in a condition to do his Majesty royal service. In this he was obliged to throw himself on his Majesty's liberality, and he requested his Majesty also to advance him two months' wages for 1600 men. The proposal seemed so liberal that Philip forgot his caution and dropped his reserve. He had still prudence enough to conceal the correspondence with Norfolk, Chapin's mission, and the intended assassination; but Fitzwilliam was allowed to know that England was really to be invaded, and that the blow was to be struck, if possible, at the end of the summer. Indentures were drawn at the Escurial and were signed by Fitzwilliam for Hawkins and by the Duke of Feria—just before his death—for Spain. Hawkins bound himself to have his fleet at sea, to be at the disposition of the Duke of Alva, in September and October. Philip consented to advance the necessary moneys, and being in a generous mood, expressed a hope that in the event of success Sir John and his friends would accept, in addition, something handsome for themselves. The pardon for the

misdoings in the Spanish main was drawn out in full, with an assurance that if the expedition failed, they should be sure of employment in the Spanish service.[1]

This prodigious 'practice' was thus entirely successful. The English Government learnt the particulars of the danger which lay before them and were able to prepare for it—prepare for it in part with finances furnished by Philip himself; Hawkins held himself in readiness to join Alva as soon as he should sail, intending to sink him in mid-channel. Philip paid the money for which Fitzwilliam asked, some forty or fifty thousand pounds, through his agents in England. He made Hawkins himself a grandee of Spain, and sent him, through Fitzwilliam's hands, his patent of nobility.

One more communication from Sir John to Cecil contains all that requires to be told further.

SIR JOHN HAWKINS TO LORD BURGHLEY.

'Plymouth, September 4.

'My very good Lord,—It may please your Honour to be advertised that Fitzwilliam is returned from the Court of Spain, where his message was acceptably received both by the King himself, the Duke of Feria, and others of the privy council. His dispatch and answer was with great expedition, and great counten-

[1] The documents relating to these negotiations are very numerous, and with the exception of the letters which passed between Hawkins and Burghley, are all at Simancas. The Spanish historians, knowing only their own archives, have supposed that Hawkins was really acting in good faith with Philip. The King did not care to leave on record an account of the trick by which he had been taken in.

ance and favour of the King. The Articles are sent to the ambassador, with orders also for the money to be paid to me by him, for the enterprise to proceed with all diligence. Their pretence is, that my powers should join with the Duke of Alva's powers, which he doth secretly provide in Flanders, as well as with the powers which cometh with the Duke of Medina out of Spain, and so altogether to invade this realm and set up the Queen of Scots. They have practised with us for the burning of her Majesty's ships, therefore there would be some good care had of them, but not as it may appear that anything is discovered—as your Lordship's consideration can well provide.

'The King hath sent a ruby of good price to the Queen of Scots, with letters also, which in my judgment were good to be delivered. The letters be of no importance, but his message by word is to comfort her and say that he hath now none other care but to place her in her own. It were good also that the ambassador did make a request unto your Lordship that Fitzwilliam may have access to the Queen of Scots, to render thanks for the delivery of the prisoners which are now at liberty. It will be a very good colour for your Lordship to confer with him more largely. I have sent your Lordship the copy of my pardon from the King of Spain, in the very order and manner I have it. The Duke of Medina and the Duke of Alva hath every of them one of the same pardons more amplified to present unto me, though this be large enough, with my great titles and honours from the King, from which

God deliver me. I send your Lordship also the copy of my letter from the Duke of Feria, in the very manner as it was written, with his wife's and son's hand in the end.[1] Their practices be very mischievous, and they be never idle, but God, I hope, will confound them, and turn their devices upon their own necks. I will put my business in some order, and give my attendance upon her Majesty, to do her that service that by your Lordship shall be thought most convenient in this case. I am not tedious with your Lordship, because Fitzwilliam cometh himself, and I mind not to be long after him, and thus I trouble your Lordship no further.

'Your Lordship's most faithfully to my power,

'JOHN HAWKINS.'[2]

September. The letter came opportunely, for Cecil, as will presently be seen, had by this time the few remaining threads in his hand which would ravel out the whole conspiracy. Very hateful such proceedings may seem to some readers, as if it were better that a Government should perish than to be driven to maintain itself by treachery. Elizabeth won the game, and therefore the faults on her side appear gratuitously wicked. We fancy that she might have succeeded as easily by fairer means, while the like doings on the other side are passed over in a general sentiment of compassion for the losing cause. Yet

[1] Not found.

[2] *Domestic MSS. Rolls House.*

treachery was but meeting treachery. The Queen of Scots, on the whole, held better cards than Elizabeth, and but for Cecil, the Queen of Scots would probably have won, and Chapin's poniard and Alva's legions might have given another complexion to English history. The Queen of Scots' iniquities would then have stood out in the relief of success. The pity would have been for Elizabeth, the moral censure for her more lucky rival. In this and all such conditions, our praise and our blame are alike impertinent, for it is impossible to apportion them fairly. The rules which insist on truth and candour between man and man and Government and Government, apply only to quiet, or at least to honourable ages. Wars and treasons and conspiracies derange the natural relation of things, and bring about situations where other balances are required. The baser crimes which spring from selfishness and cowardice are hideous in every time and place: but Hamlet is not condemned for rewriting his uncle's packet, because Shakespeare, in the fulness of genius, places the facts before us with all their surroundings. Let the reader exert his imagination to call up before him the situation of Elizabeth and her minister, and he will be sparing of his outcries in proportion to the vigour of his thought.

The anticipation that the year 1571 would prove a critical one in the fortunes of England was entirely verified. The Ridolfi conspiracy was the last combined effort of the English aristocracy to undo the Reformation and strangle the new order of things before it

grew too strong for them. The exigencies of history compel us to follow in single lines the many threads of which the situation was made up. London, Paris, Brussels, Rome, Madrid—we have had to transport ourselves from one to the other, while at each and all, at the same time, the warp and the woof of Elizabeth's destiny were forming. We have watched the English Parliament at home labouring for the cause of God and freedom. We have seen Philip's Cabinet planning murder, in the cause also, as they believed, of God and Holy Church; while Cecil and Walsingham were struggling desperately to bind England and France together, and the Queen was choosing the edge of the precipice to execute her matrimonial coquet dance. Dungeons have been thrown open, where wretched prisoners were yielding their secrets to the rack,[1] or cheated out of them by the midnight visits of pretended friends. And, last of all, we have seen the Catholic King and his Council of State becoming the dupes of a buccaneering adventurer. All these scenes were going on together; while Cecil had his eyes everywhere, conscious or unconscious that on him, and on what he could do, the fate of England and its Queen depended.

It remains to observe, during the same months, the

[1] Charles Baily was not the only sufferer. Hall, Sir Thomas Stanley's friend, who was taken at Dumbarton, was made to tell what he knew by the same means. The Queen and Cecil ordered Sir William Drury to submit a series of questions to him, adding, 'Let him look to be racked to all extremity if he will conceal the truth.'—Elizabeth to Sir William Drury, May 20, Cecil's hand: *MSS. Scotland.*

fortunes of the two parties which divided Scotland. On the fall of Dumbarton and the ineffectual close of the London Conference, the civil war broke again into a blaze. War, in a large sense, it could not be called, but a general breaking down of all order and authority, the parties which respectively called themselves subjects of the King or Queen flying at each other's throats, burning each other's houses, and indulging, under the pretence of loyalty, their private hates and feuds. Neither France nor England could openly interfere. The marriage project made them unwilling to quarrel; and till that marriage was accomplished, they were equally unable to act in concert. At the same time, neither cared to desert their friends entirely; and thus both sides were encouraged with promises and fed with money. King's party and Queen's party were called to the field, and one could not overwhelm the other; and the hopeless struggle was varied only by some gallant achievement like the storming of Dumbarton. Had Elizabeth resolved from the beginning, as she had now resolved at last, to keep Mary Stuart prisoner—had she supported Murray—had she allowed Sussex to take Edinburgh Castle—still more, had she recognized James not only as King in his own country, but as her own prospective heir—she would have added nothing to the danger of her position with the European Powers, and the peace of Scotland would never have been disturbed. The settlement in James's favour was the one step which, beyond question, she ought to have taken, and which she only did not take from the peculiar perversity of tem-

perament which never would allow her to move directly and openly towards any object, however excellent, however just, however expedient.

She had played fast and loose so often with the Protestants that, but for the interest of their common religion, they would long ago have fallen off from her. As it was, the position of parties was briefly this. The Regent, supported by Mar and Morton, held Stirling, Glasgow, and Dumbarton. The Laird of Grange and Maitland were in Edinburgh Castle, where, after the execution of the Archbishop of St Andrews, they were joined in force by the Hamiltons, with Buccleuch, Fernihurst, and Lord Hume, and then took possession of the town. The North and West, with the Gordons, Argyle, and Athol, were for the Queen. From Stirling to St Andrews, and south till within thirty miles of the Border, the farmers and peasants were mainly Protestants. The French were more liberal of money than Elizabeth. Elizabeth reluctantly doled out a thousand pounds to the Regent on a single occasion. Mary Stuart's dowry was regularly paid to the other side, with four thousand crowns a-month in addition from Charles and Catherine.

So matters stood on the arrest of Charles Baily and the partial discovery of Ridolfi's plot. Elizabeth, as usual, was roused for a time into resolution. Drury was sent to Edinburgh to remonstrate with Grange and Maitland 'for occupying the city in warlike manner,' and to inform them that if he or his party 'brought in strangers,' 'the Queen would avenge their obstinacy against the common peace.' Cannon were prepared in

Berwick, and an expeditionary force was organized and put in marching order for the reduction of Edinburgh Castle.[1]

So obviously necessary, if Elizabeth's throne was to be preserved, was the reduction of Scotland under the Regent's authority, that Mary Stuart's party were unable to believe that decisive measures could be longer postponed. Lord Seton flew to Paris to entreat assistance. It was at the moment when the Queen-mother was most sanguine about the English marriage, and the application was especially unwelcome. Seton said that he hoped that in the midst of her new schemes she would not forget her old friends. He reminded her of the many gallant Scots who 'had offered themselves for the country of France and had left their 'banes' behind them there.' Catherine gave but cold answers. The Archbishop of Glasgow stood sadly by, but did not speak a word.

'Madam,' said the old lord passionately, 'I must speak two words to you, and pray you to receive them as coming out of a true French heart. Madam, since Charlemagne's time there was never sent from Scotland, by King, Queen, or nobility, a more honourable suit than is desired at the present by me; and seeing that this vain opinion of the Queen of England's marriage is so had in conceit of you that ye heed not us who are invaded with fire and sword and our castles and houses demolished; as I have shown you before, the nobility

[1] Elizabeth to Sir William Drury, May 20: *MSS. Scotland.*

of Scotland will not fail to sue where they may best.'[1]

Lord Seton fell back on Brussels. The friends of Mary Stuart in Scotland followed the lead of the English Lords, and, deserted by France, flung themselves upon Alva and Spain. The coldness of the French Court gave fresh facilities for the organization of the intended invasion. Should accident prevent a landing at Harwich, the coast of Aberdeen was close at hand and always open, and the presence of a Spanish army in the island was all that was needed to call the Catholics to the field.

May. Meanwhile, till the Spaniards were ready it was necessary to keep Elizabeth in play, and to prevent her from executing her threat of reducing the castle of Edinburgh. Her determined moods seldom lasted more than a few days, and Maitland's pen was called into requisition to soothe her into a false security.

Maitland had a singular influence over Elizabeth. She corresponded with him in private, and while Cecil was threatening him in her name, she was herself unsaying Cecil's language behind the scenes. Whatever may have been her secret purpose in so doing, she allowed him to see that she did not desire to interfere if she could help it, and that she would welcome any opening which he could make for her to escape from the necessity which was being forced upon her. Maitland believed her incapable, through her vacillation, of any

[1] Seton to Maitland, May 31 : *MSS. Scotland.*

consistent policy. He despised her and played upon her weakness. When he received Drury's message, and heard of the preparations at Berwick, he wrote to remind her 'how often she had urged him to remain faithful to his own Queen, how at times she had reproached him for his seeming want of duty, how incredible it appeared to him that she should now take his fidelity to his mistress unkindly. He could not and would not acknowledge the Regency of Lennox. His property had been confiscated. He and many other noblemen had been declared outlaws. The King, when he took on him the administration, would find no kingdom apt for rule, but a confused chaos, where within short time there would start up two or three hundred resembling Shan O'Neil, whereof every one would be king in his own bounds or within ten miles' compass. Neither he nor his friends would permit five or six earls and lords, not of the greatest degree, to make slaves of all who would not serve their turn; and for himself, he had not been accustomed to misery, and would find it strange to be driven to live on other men's charity. This however he was ready to do. He would use his credit to procure a reasonable union of all the states of the realm to maintain peace with England. He would procure that her Majesty should be put in trust to make a final end of all controversies and be moderatrix in all their debates; this point only reserved, that she would so deal with the Queen of Scots that he and his friends might not be condemned of having dealt undutifully with their Sovereign, to whom he for his own part was particularly

bound for benefits received, and had made promises which in honour he might not break.'[1]

The intention of this letter was to gain time till Alva could land, the Catholics rise, and Elizabeth and the Queen of Scots change places. Mary Stuart and the Bishop of Ross had admitted, in explanation of Charles Baily's confession, that the Spaniards had been invited into Scotland. It was more than ever essential to put down the party which would open their ports to receive them. But Maitland's words chimed in exactly with Elizabeth's detestation of resolute action. She underlined particular expressions in the letter with marks of her approval, and Drury was again ordered up to Edinburgh and Stirling, to say that force, after all, was not to be used; a commission should sit again in London to arrange a compromise.

June. The Queen's friends had as much intention of submitting to Elizabeth as of accepting the Archbishop of Canterbury for their Metropolitan. When Drury came to Edinburgh, he found Chatelherault holding a Parliament in the Tolbooth to reinstate Mary Stuart 'as only lawful Sovereign of Scotland.' Making a mild protest—all that he was now allowed to make—he went on to the Lords at Stirling, where his appearance was the signal for a burst of execrations. 'Among the hot bloods of the young men' he was 'in danger of his life;' 'shot at divers times;' dreaded by the Regent as the minister of that uncertain action

[1] Maitland to Elizabeth, May 30, condensed; *MSS Scotland.*

which had caused all the existing misery, hated and cursed as 'a false treacherous Saxon.' The Lords had hoped that at last Elizabeth must declare decisively for them. If they waited till Alva landed they were lost, and the first impulse was to throw up for ever the service of a mistress who never for two days together remained in one mind, and make terms with their enemies at Edinburgh. The Regent, old, infirm, and over-influenced by Lennox partisanship, had grown unpopular with his own party, and Drury feared that he would soon be sent the way of his son. Maitland had been making overtures to Morton, to which Morton was supposed to be listening. 'The Castilians,' as the Queen's faction was called, were supported with money from France and Flanders. The Regent, to maintain a force, was driven to distrain still upon the few noblemen who adhered to the King. The situation could not be prolonged under such conditions. On the 14th of July Drury reported to Cecil that, unless her Majesty could make up her mind at once what she meant to do, 'both parties were determined to agree among themselves, the same being already in hand.'[1] Had the Queen of England been liberal with money, the Regency might have continued; but with ample supplies on one side and on the other only contradictory advice and perpetual vacillation, the Lords who had stood for the King could no longer persevere in so thankless and dangerous a course. Even Elizabeth's

July.

[1] Drury to Cecil, July 14: *MSS. Scotland.*

own people could not be paid their own justly earned wages. Drury complained that he had himself incurred such expenses in her Majesty's service that he was weighed down with debt.[1]

In the midst of these distractions, and immediately arising out of them, a third party now appeared, which, though unfavourable to Mary Stuart and scarcely less so to Elizabeth, seemed likely for a time to obtain the control of Scotch policy. It was the misfortune of the Queen of Scots that she was unable to apply for help to one of the great Powers without offending the friends of the other. Out of the large body of noblemen who had hitherto supported her, the Protestant section disapproved entirely of the new connection with Spain. They remained true to their French sympathies; and the change of policy at Paris, the reviving influence of the Huguenots, and the liberalizing tendencies of the King, produced a corresponding effect upon his friends in Scotland. As the Guises lost their ascendancy the French Court became again indifferent to Mary Stuart, and was as willing as it had been four years before to support the King if it could win back the Scotch alliance. If the Anjou marriage had come off, France and England, and the Scotch friends of both, would work together. If the marriage failed, France would not allow Scotland to become Spanish; and if Mary Stuart flung herself on Philip, for their own sakes they were forced to take up the cause of her son. In the universal

[1] Drury to Cecil, July 14: *MSS. Scotland.*

uncertainity no definite resolution was possible; but M. de Virac was sent back with large discretionary powers; and thus through the summer months there followed a series of intrigues and counter-intrigues, the principles of which are generally intelligible but the details utterly confounding. This only is clear, that all alike were bidding for popularity by appealing to the national sentiment, swearing 'that Scots would never thrall their land to England; the King of France, if he would, should be judge in all their differences.'[1] The nobler element in Scottish life was for a time in abeyance. Knox had withdrawn from Edinburgh to St Andrews. The reforming noblemen were divided and disheartened. The commons were lying in the dead water between the opposite tides, and for the present attending chiefly to their farms and their trades. At length, towards the end of August, things began to assume defined outlines. Three parties had shaped themselves—French, Spanish, and English. Chatelherault, Maitland, Huntly, Fernihurst, Buccleuch—those who had been most nearly connected with the English Catholics, and were to some extent in the secret of their plans—followed the main line of the conspiracy and remained in correspondence with Alva. Argyle, Cassilis, Eglinton, and several others broke away and declared for the King—for the King and France—or for the King and France and England—as events and as their friends should direct them. They

August.

[1] John Case to Drury, August 29: *MSS. Scotland.*

came to an understanding with the party at Stirling. Lennox, for general convenience and through Morton's interest, was to be continued as Regent. Elizabeth had bought Morton's services, finding it cheaper to bribe a single nobleman than maintain a Government.[1] But he was to be placed under restraint, unable to act without consent of a council, and generally rendered so uneasy in his seat 'that he would be glad to be gone.'[2]

September. A great meeting of the Lords was held at Stirling, to consider the propositions which should be submitted to Elizabeth. This much only they had at once resolved, that the Prince should in no case be sent to England as Elizabeth desired; and no right whatever should be recognized as existing in the Queen of England to decide who should or should not be the Scottish Sovereign. The unfortunate Lennox could but lament to Cecil the indecision of his mistress, which had thus shaken her influence: was it not for his grandson, he said, no earthly interest should tempt him to remain in office another day.[3] Neglected in the midst of the crowd, desolate and weeping with such few friends as privately came to him, the father of Darnley sat waiting for his approaching fate.

If threatening to England, the new combination was no less unfavourable to the projects of the 'Cas-

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[1] Morton took her money and professed to place himself at Elizabeth's disposition, 'either to use him to quench the fire among them or to make the flame break out further.'—Drury to Cecil, August 24: *MSS. Scotland.*

[2] John Case to Drury, September 2: *MSS. Scotland.*

[3] Lennox to Cecil, August 25: *MSS.* Ibid.

tilians.' Whether a French faction or an English faction governed Scotland, or both combined, there would be an equal difficulty in making arrangements for the landing of the Spaniards, or for the march southwards to the rescue of the Queen of Scots. In reply to the Hamiltons' Parliament at the Tolbooth, a rival meeting was held at Stirling, where Chatelherault and Huntly were attainted, and the assembled Lords gave out that they meant to march immediately upon Edinburgh, and starve the Castle into submission.

The Castilians—or rather Maitland, for Maitland was the inventor of the enterprise—proposed to anticipate them. He flattered himself that if he could bring all parties together with some vantage ground of position to himself, he could settle matters in his own way, and flatter the ambition of Scotland by a sketch of the prospect which that autumn was to open for the Queen. His plan was characteristic both of himself and his countrymen — a companion enterprise, though far grander in its aim and scope, to Crawford's capture of Dumbarton. Including the Lords, their friends, and their followers, there were at Stirling, in all, 2000 armed men. The town as well as the castle was fortified. The Queen's party had no kind of force in the field, and the last thought which would have occurred to any one would have been that there was danger of surprise. Buccleuch and Fernihurst, with a few score border troopers, men accustomed to desperate adventures, had been for some time at Edinburgh. It was given out that they were going back to their own

country. Half a dozen of them were sent forward to Queen's Ferry to keep the passage, and on the evening of the 3rd of September, the two border leaders, with Huntly, Lord Claud Hamilton, and 120 troopers, rode quietly out of the gate. They took the Jedworth road to prevent suspicion. Dusk fell as they cleared the suburbs, and they swept round to the right, galloped rapidly through the darkness, and by three in the morning were within a mile of Stirling. Here they dismounted and left their horses, 'lest the clattering of hoofs upon the paved road' should be heard by the guard. Stealing silently on, they crept, 'by a secret passage,' through the wall, and made their way undiscovered to the market-cross at the head of the town. It was now between four and five in the morning, and day was breaking. The King was in the castle beyond their reach, but the noblemen were lodged in the houses round the market-place. They had exact information of the place where each of them would be found, and Lennox, Argyle, Glencairn, Sutherland, Cassilis, and Eglinton were taken one by one out of their beds without a blow being struck. They were less successful with Morton, who, hearing the disturbance, had time to barricade his door, and with a party of his servants held out desperately till the house was set on fire. It was one of those high, narrow buildings so common in Scotch towns. As the flames spread upwards the poor women and children in the upper stories leapt from the windows and were killed upon the pavement. At length, when the roof began to fall in,

Morton, singed and scorched, grimed with smoke, and half dressed, came out and surrendered to his kinsman Buccleuch.

So far the success had been brilliant. The Regent and the leading noblemen were prisoners, and they had now only to make off as they had come, before the soldiers in the castle were roused. The fighting had made hot blood. Lord Claud Hamilton owed Morton a grudge for Drury's invasion, and attempted to stab him; and Buccleuch, to save his life, called off some of his men, and putting Morton in the midst of them, made his way down the street to the gate. The party, which was small already, was thus divided, and when Huntly would have followed with the rest, there was a difficulty in collecting them. Border thieves, if useful in some aspects of them, had their disadvantages. A town seemingly at their mercy was too much for their habits to resist. The stables were filled with the finest horses in Scotland. The lives of the freebooters of Hawick and Jedburgh depended often on the fleetness of their steeds, and such a chance as the present might never return. Thus having, as they supposed, secured their prisoners, they dispersed in search of plunder. Morton's resistance had already cost too much time and created too much disturbance. The recall bugle was sounded impatiently, but the men were too busy to attend to it; and by this time the town was awake, the guard had turned out in the castle, and parties of armed men came streaming into the market-place from every wynd and alley. Further delay was impossible.

Those who were left to guard the prisoners made after Buccleuch to the gate. The prisoners themselves, most of them seeing their friends at hand, shook themselves easily free; and Buccleuch, who was taking care of Morton's life, was obliged in turn to surrender. Lennox was less fortunate. He had been tied on a horse's back, and a handful of men were scrambling off with him down one of the side streets. They were hotly pursued, and Claud Hamilton, remembering the Archbishop, and fearing that he would be rescued, ran after them, calling out, 'Shoot him, shoot the Regent!' A trooper, named Cawdor, drew a pistol and fired, and Lennox fell mortally wounded, and was left upon the ground. Then all was confusion. The Borderers had done their peculiar portion of the business well. They got off with 300 horses, 'besides a great butin of merchants' goods;' but from twenty to thirty of the party were taken or killed, Scott of Buccleuch among them, and to the plunder had been sacrificed the whole serious fruit of an enterprise, which, in the opinion of the Castilians, 'if it had been wisely followed out, had put an end to the troubles of Scotland without blood or difficulty.'

Lennox survived only a few hours, and 'then departed to God very peacefully,' 'exhorting all men to follow still the action for the maintenance of the King.' Stepchild of fortune through a hard life, his father killed, his son murdered, he himself, a second Regent, now went down in blood, and was hardly paid by the poor honour of being father of the line of English kings.

Cawdor, who was taken, was broken on the wheel. He confessed, and a comrade confessed also, that their orders had been to kill Morton and Ruthven also.

On the spot, that there should be no trouble with Elizabeth, the Earl of Mar was elected as Lennox's successor. The fire of hate was fanned into fury, and Maitland's stroke of brilliant strategy served only to draw a sharper line of separation between the Castilians and the rest of their countrymen.

Had Alva come, the north and east were still held by Huntly, and Aberdeen would have been open to receive him; but on that same week of September, when Lennox was dying at Stirling, and Hawkins was writing from Plymouth of his officer's success at Madrid, a happy accident explained to Cecil the missing ciphers, and extinguished the remaining chances of the Ridolfi conspiracy.[1]

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[1] For the attempt at Stirling see Advertisements from Scotland, September 6: *MSS. Scotland.* Another account: Ibid. Maitland and Grange to Sir William Drury, September 6: Ibid. Drury to Cecil, September 10 and September 13: Ibid. Confession of Cawdor and Bell: Ibid. Two letters, ciphers deciphered, from Maitland to Mary Stuart, September —: *MSS.* QUEEN OF SCOTS.

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